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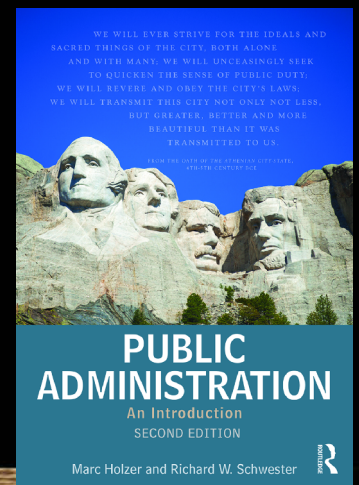
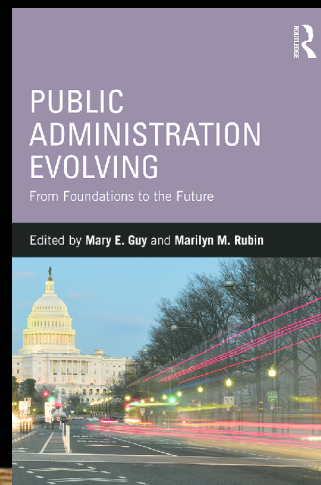
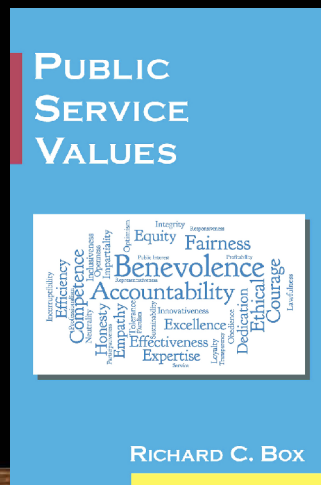
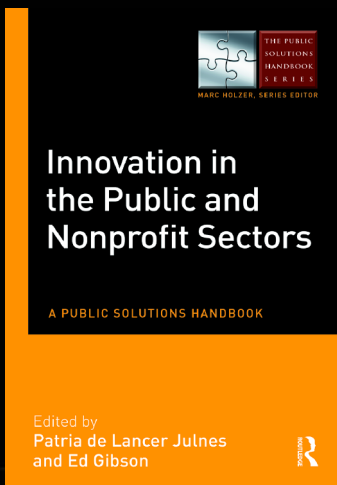
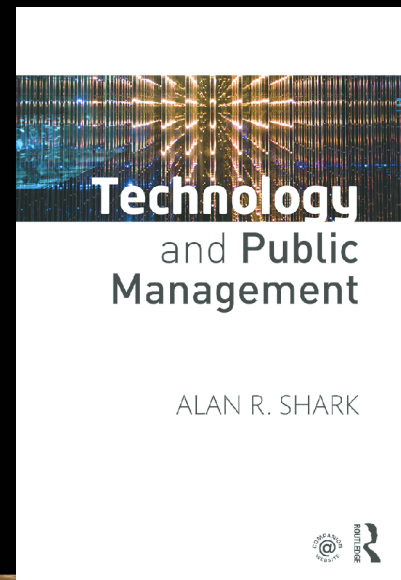
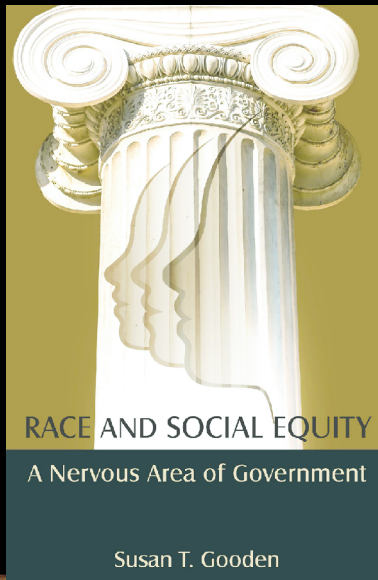
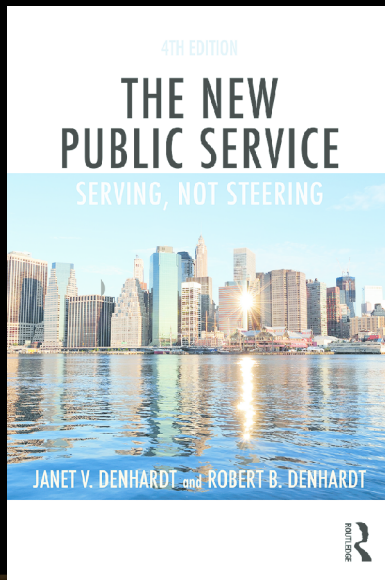
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Introduction

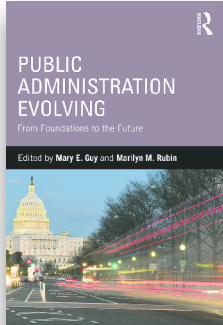
It is election time in the US and with it, many are asking the question ‘*What is it we need and want from our public servants?*’ Routledge has a wide array of books for every college course touching upon public administration, public management, and public policy, as well as books designed specifically for practitioners or researchers. Here we have selected a representative set of chapters from just seven of our recent publications to give you an idea of the quality and variety of the material we have available, unified around ASPA’s 2016 theme, ‘Reflecting on Challenges, Harnessing Opportunities.’

The chapters presented here cover topics of perennial interest and debate in public administration and beyond: what it means to innovate, the demands technology places on each of us, the role of the media, the problem of racial inequality, and a look at how our values evolve over time. It is important to know that new editions of two of the textbooks from which these chapters are drawn (*The New Public Service* and *Public Administration: An Introduction*) are currently available.

So, please enjoy this reflection upon the ‘challenges and opportunities’ public service presents and consider sharing these books with your students in courses you may be teaching, with colleagues, or with your library in 2016 and beyond.

The Public Context

Chapter 1: The Public Context



The following is excerpted from *Public Administration Evolving* Edited by Mary E. Guy, Marilyn M. Rubin. © 2015 Taylor & Francis Group. All rights reserved.

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David H. Rosenbloom

What is public about public administration? This question has been raised in the literature of public administration at least since 1945 when Paul Appleby claimed that “government is different” (Appleby 1945). In the late 1970s, taking Wallace Sayre’s (1958) aphorism, “public and private management are fundamentally alike in all unimportant respects” as his lead, Graham Allison sought to provide a framework for “systematic investigation” of the “similarities and difference among public and private management” (Allison 1979). Since then a number of authors have compared public and private organizations with regard to red tape, research and demonstration, employee motivation, and other phenomena. Nevertheless, there is no consensus on how to answer what seems to be a simple question.


Perhaps this is because as a field of study, public administration has been without a dominant paradigm for almost all of the American Society for Public Administration’s life, and certainly since the late 1940s. Lacking one, some researchers seek an answer to what makes public administration public by looking at the organizational level—how does the behavior of public and private organizations differ, if at all? (Bozeman 1987). Others focus on differences between public and private employees (Perry and Wise 1990). Still others examine the different environments in which both public and private organizations and employees operate. This body of research is ongoing, which suggests that it remains inconclusive and/or incomplete.

Yet there may be some consensus on what public administration is, regardless of whether it differs in important respects from private management, as Sayre implied. Since the 1980s, it has become commonplace that public administration combines management, politics, and law (Rosenbloom 1983; see also Meriam 1939). How it does so defines a great deal about the enterprise of public administration and the overall context in which it operates. This is not meant to suggest that the public and private sectors do not parallel each other in significant ways or that specific jobs in both sectors may be virtually identical. Note that Sayre did not explicitly state that public and private organizations are dissimilar in all important ways. The point is that by looking at management, politics, and law in the public sector we can observe a context that, as Appleby claimed, Sayre suggested, and others have researched, makes public administration different.

Management

What public managers do is another question without an immediate or straight-forward answer (Ban 1995; Kaufman 1981; Morgan et al. 1996). They manage people, budgets, organizations, programs, stakeholders, information, communication, and more. Much depends on their level, political jurisdictions, organizations, and environments. The usual answer to what makes them *public* managers is that they overwhelmingly work in organizations that do not compete in output markets for their revenues. Even where they require user fees, such as those for obtaining a U.S. passport, they may act as monopolies. Further, although public managers may earn bonuses and salary raises, organizational profits (that is, excess revenues) are not ordinarily shared by managers, other employees, and/or stakeholders (including taxpayers). Nonprofit management is often taught in public administration programs rather than in business administration partly because under U.S. law, as with public agencies, their profits cannot be distributed to directors, officers, and members.

Whether being nonprofit is a sufficient answer as to what makes public managers public is a moot point. Perhaps Woodrow Wilson (1887) and John Rohr (1986) provided a better answer: they “run” the federal and state constitutions. Wilson did not expound on what he meant by “running a constitution.” Rohr was more concerned with the legitimacy of the administrative state than the likelihood that running a constitution




will be problematic if the government working under it lacks the capacity effectively to implement policies, laws, inter-national agreements, and judicial and other decisions. Implementation is what gives government the capacity to govern. Although legitimacy may contribute to capacity, history teaches that it is not a prerequisite except, possibly, in what may be a very long run.

Public managers at the federal and state levels run constitutions by coordinating the separation of powers. They are under the “joint custody” of, and subordinate to, three sets of “directors”: legislatures, chief executives, and courts (Rosenbloom 2001; Rourke 1993). Mission, authority, organizational structure, staff, and funding depend very heavily on legislatures. If legislatures do nothing, there is no administration, which is why W.F. Willoughby referred to Congress as the source of federal administration and asserted that it is “the possessor of all administrative authority” (1927, 11; 1934, 115, 157). Gubernatorial powers vary across the states and governors may have authority such as the line item veto that the president lacks. Regardless of these differences, the president and governors are expected to coordinate and manage government administration on a day-to-day basis. As the U.S. Constitution puts it, the president is expected to “take care that the laws *be* faithfully executed” (Article 2, section 3; emphasis added).

When justiciable cases are before the courts, judges and justices apply the law to challenged administrative actions. If law is in the form of constitutional law, they not only apply it, but also, to put it uncomfortably, they *make* it. As Justice Lewis Powell once said, “constitutional law is what the courts say it is” (*Owen v. City of Independence* 1980, 669). Note that with the exception of the thirteenth amendment, banning slavery and involuntary servitude other than as punishment for crime, and what constitutional law regards as state action (that is, governmental action), the federal Constitution has no direct application to private relationships. Remedial law, as developed by the courts themselves in the last third of the twentieth century, enables federal and state judges to become deeply involved in the administrative operations of public schools, public housing, personnel, welfare, prisons, mental health systems, and other governmental activities (Chayes 1976; Cramton 1976; Rosenbloom, O’Leary, and Chanin 2010, chapter 7). It is more common for remedial law to involve state and local administration than federal activities. However, the way applicants for many federal positions are tested today reaches back to court decisions finding traditional merit system examinations legally defective for their lack of predictive validity and surfeit of negative disparate impact on the employment interests of minorities (see *Ricci v. DeStefano* 2009).

Public managers are legally required to act as instructed by chief executives and their appointees, legislatures, and courts. When all agree and are precise, the direction should be clear. When their directives are ambiguous, containing terms such as “feasible,” “public interest,” and “adequate,” or at odds with one another, the public administration and political science literature tells us coordination comes through bureaucratic politics. Public managers find themselves in the “Web of Politics,” as Aberbach and Rockman (2000) explain. The web has governments of strangers, issue networks, iron triangles, hollow cores, and its “lifeblood” may be political power (Long 1949). The rule of law should be followed, of course, but it is not always clear what it requires in terms of substance and pace. The choices Lipsky’s street-level bureaucrats and O’Leary’s guerrillas make and how upper-level managers, including political appointees, respond to them also affect coordination and implementation (Lipsky 1980; O’Leary 2006; Riccucci 1995; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003). So does agency “nonacquiescence,” which is not unusual, as when a federal agency bound by a ruling in one judicial circuit does not change its practices in the others, even though in all likelihood those processes are illegal or unconstitutional.

Subordination of public management to tripartite direction and supervision under the separation of powers can accommodate congressional authorization for a court to appoint an independent counsel with authority to exercise all the investigatory and prosecutorial powers of the Department of Justice while shielding the counsel from removal by the president and allowing dismissal only by the direct action of the attorney general for specified causes (*Morrison v. Olson* 1988). Coordination of the separation of powers



goes to the very center of what Kerwin says is the most important thing agencies do, rulemaking (Kerwin 2003, xi). Congress delegates its legislative authority for agencies to make substantive (legislative) rules having the power of law. The president, through the Office of Management and Budget, exercises a considerable amount of control over the agencies' rulemaking agendas and proposed and final rules. The latter are subject to congressional review and potential disapproval by joint resolution, subject to presidential veto and override. If litigation follows the enactment of substantive rules, which is common, the federal courts apply a "hard look" at their basis and purpose, and the connection between the two. Public managers have to manage rulemaking with the president's agenda, congressional committees and subcommittees, and judicial decisions in mind. Relying on the simplifying proposition that their primary obligation is to follow the president's direction is a copout. As Rohr emphasized, their oath is to support the Constitution (Article VI, section 3; Rohr 1978).

Public managers also coordinate federalism and intergovernmental relations. So many programs now involve two or three levels of government that coordinating them can be a full-time public management job. If coordination were not necessary, presumably there would be a much smaller literature on "cooperative federalism," "new federalism," and the Supreme Court and a return to "dual federalism." Grodzin's classic description of a health officer's job not only reminds us that collaborative governance is not new, but also may still best convey the inter- mixing of administrative programs across federal, state, and local governments.

The sanitarian is appointed by the state under merit standards established by the federal government. His base salary comes jointly from state and federal funds, the county provides him with an office and office amenities and pays a portion of his expenses, and the largest city in the county also contributes to his salary and office by virtue of his appointment as city plumbing inspector. It is impossible from moment to moment to tell under which governmental hat the sanitarian operates. His work of inspecting the purity of food is carried out under federal standards; but he is enforcing state laws when inspecting commodities that have not been in interstate commerce; and . . . he also acts under state authority when inspecting milk coming into the county from producing areas across the state border. He is a federal officer when impounding impure drugs shipped from a neighboring state; a federal-state officer when distributing typhoid immunization serum; a state officer when enforcing standards of industrial hygiene; a state-local officer when inspecting the city's water supply; and (to complete the circle) a local officer when insisting that the city butchers adopt more hygienic methods of handling their garbage. (*Grodzins 1960, 265–266 as quoted in Grant and Nixon 1975, 37–38*)

Competent sanitarians are required to coordinate and integrate all these health- related activities among the multiple jurisdictions involved. As an individual, a sanitarian may be quite adroit at doing so. However, supporting the sanitarian's work involves federal–state–local and local–local administrative coordination of budgeting, personnel administration, and allocation of office space, as well as the legal and policy aspects of implementing health regulations. Thinking in terms of bottom-up implementation theory, one can appreciate the amount of multijurisdictional and multiagency effort necessary to make it possible for sanitarians to do their jobs effectively or even just to put them on the street (Elmore 1979– 1980). When one multiplies this effort by the hundreds or thousands of programs requiring federal, state, and local governmental coordination, the importance of public managers in coordinating policy implementation is self-evident. Even in the single area of law enforcement, it may be daunting.

Public management is also complicated by legal mandates to implement "mission extraneous public values" (Baehler, Liu, and Rosenbloom 2014). At least in theory, one could spend an entire career in a federal agency working hard and diligently on something, such as freedom of information requests, which has nothing to do with the organization's core mission. Such mandates often fall within the rubric of "administrative law."



Administrative Law


Administrative law is the regulatory law of public administration. It regulates agency rulemaking, adjudication, enforcement, handling of information and transparency, formal relationships with stakeholders, public participation, and some aspects of decision making. It also covers a wide variety of mandates, such as the production of environmental impact statements, assessments of policies and activities on the strength of families, and sustainability efforts (National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 1970; Assessment of Federal Regulations and Policies on Families Act of 1998; Executive Order 13514 2009). To a large extent, administrative law requires administrative action to comport with the nation's democratic-constitutional values, including representativeness, public participation, transparency, and procedural due process. It also establishes the scope of judicial review and may provide for legislative review of agency rules.

One of administrative law's chief qualities is that it requires agencies to devote considerable resources to activities that have little or nothing to do with their primary missions and specialized expertise and technologies. Such activities are intended to promote public values that are generally extrinsic to the purposes for which individual agencies exist. As suggested above, freedom of information under federal and state statutes is a familiar example. It is intended to promote the public value of transparency, which has long been considered necessary for government accountability and an informed citizenry.

The federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) of 1966, as amended, extends very broadly across the executive branch, including to all departments and agencies outside the Executive Office of the President, and those that are not purely advisory within it. Transparency in the sense of answering freedom of information requests from individuals in the United States and around the world—there is no “standing” requirement such as citizenship—is very clearly not part of the core missions of the FBI, CIA, Environmental Protection Agency, Department of Homeland Security, and probably all other executive branch departments and agencies other than the National Archives and Records Administration. Nevertheless, the agencies are required to respond to requests within established statutory time limits, appoint chief FOIA officers and FOIA liaisons, and report on FOIA performance. When courts award attorney's fees to plaintiffs suing agencies for illegally withholding information, the agencies are required to pay them out of their own budgets rather than from the Treasury Department's Claims and Judgment Fund. Responding to the more than 600,000 FOIA requests the federal government can expect annually takes a great deal of staff time and costs millions of dollars (FOIA.gov, n.d.).

A reasonable definition of mission-extrinsic public values in the context of administrative law is that the values: (1) do not support achieving the central purposes, core activities, and *raison d'être* of agencies and programs; (2) are unrelated to an agency's specialized competencies and technologies; (3) promote preferences that are extraneous to organizational missions and may even impede them; (4) are often imposed across all agencies in one-size-fits-all fashion that is not strategically tailored to individual missions; and (5) are not necessarily supported by agency leaders and personnel (Baehler, Liu, and Rosenbloom 2014). Leading examples include FOIA as just mentioned, the Privacy Act of 1974, Paperwork Reduction Acts of 1980 and 1995, executive orders for environmental justice and sustainability, statutory requirements for environmental impact statements and assessments of agency actions on the strength of families, and a host of court decisions associated with running a constitutionally by protecting the rights of clients, customers, public employees, contractors, individuals involved in street-level regulatory encounters, prisoners, and individuals confined to public mental health facilities (Rosenbloom 2014a; Rosenbloom, O'Leary, and Chanin 2010).

Bright lines do not always exist between mission-extrinsic public values and mission-supportive activities, such as human resource management and budgeting, which are ancillary to the achievement of agency core missions. For example, energy conservation pursuant to President Barack Obama's Executive Order



13514 (2009) can lead to lower operating costs that may be devoted to core mission activities. Paperwork reduction, which is intended to reduce the paperwork burden thrust by the federal government on private entities, can lead to administrative efficiencies by streamlining the collection and processing of information. Affirmative action to promote representative bureaucracy may also improve agency performance. However, the links, if any, between FOIA, environmental justice, family impact assessments, and several other mission-extrinsic public values and the achievement of core mission values are often attenuated at best.


Prioritizing mission-extrinsic public values presents a public management puzzle. They are mandates that in theory must be fulfilled, yet strategic plans and performance reports may give them short shrift, or ignore them altogether (Piotrowski and Rosenbloom 2002). Legislative committees are apt to focus on the achievement of core mission objectives. Political appointees, career managers, and rank and file employees may have little or no interest in pursuing mission-extrinsic public values. As Foerstel (1999, 94) explains, they may be pushed aside: “We all struggle with insufficient funds, insufficient staff, and too many requests to handle in a timely fashion. The people who run the daily mission programs in the agencies find it hard to devote the time to FOIA.”

The extent to which mission-extrinsic public values differentiate the public context from private enterprise is a qualitative matter. Certainly, private corporations face open reporting, equal employment opportunity, collective bargaining, fair labor standards, safety, environmental, and other legal requirements that many would find mission extrinsic. However, there are no federal legal requirements of general applicability to the private sector regarding freedom of information, environmental justice and sustainability, paperwork reduction, and family assessments. Federal contractors are hybrids, being subject to freedom of information under the Openness Promotes Effectiveness in Our National Government Act of 2007 and are required to protect their employees’ personal privacy and whistle-blowing rights under the Federal Acquisition Regulation (Acquisition Central n.d.). Another difference between the public and private sectors is that because they are not constrained by constitutional law, private entities have much greater freedom in dealing with their employees, customers and clients.

Constitutional Law

The federal and state constitutions also play a major role in establishing what public managers may do, and how. There is no true employment “at will” in the public sector because public employees at all levels and positions have constitutional protections against adverse actions even when they lack civil service, contractual tenure, or property rights or interests in their positions. The Supreme Court made this crystal clear in *Rankin v. McPherson* (1987), in which a *probationary* employee in a constable’s office was terminated for remarking, upon learning of an assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan: “Shoot, if they go for him, I hope they get him.” The Court explained: Even though McPherson was merely a probationary employee, and even if she could have been discharged for any reason or for no reason at all, she may nonetheless be entitled to reinstatement if she was discharged for exercising her constitutional right to freedom of expression. (381, 383–384)

The first amendment also protects the right to freedom of association. Public employees have protection through the whole gamut of personnel actions against being negatively treated based on their partisan affiliations (*Rutan v. Republican Party of Illinois* 1990). Public employees may be members of hate groups insofar as they are legal. These rights, like others guaranteed by the Constitution, are not absolute and must be balanced by the courts against governmental interests in efficiency, effectiveness, harmony among employees, other work related factors, the public interest, and jurisprudential considerations (Rosenbloom 2014b). There are also exceptions for prohibited partisan campaign speech and speech that is the product of a work assignment (*U.S. Civil Service Commission v. National Association of Letter Carriers* 1973; *Garcetti v. Ceballos* 2006). Nevertheless, like McPherson’s right to utter her remark to another employee in a



discussion about the impact of Reagan's policies on minorities, a great deal of public employees' speech enjoys constitutional protection.

Public employees' freedom of speech includes the right to whistleblow, which may also be protected by statutes. On the constitutional level, the Supreme Court noted the value of public employee whistleblowing with particular reference to public school teachers in *Pickering v. Board of Education* (1968, 571–572):

[F]ree and open debate is vital to informed decision-making by the electorate. Teachers are as a class, the members of a community most likely to have informed and definite opinions as to how funds allotted to the operation of the schools should be spent. Accordingly, it is essential that they be able to speak out freely on such questions without fear of retaliatory dismissal.


The Court's logic applies to public employees in other areas of specialization as well. Some state laws protect whistleblowers in the private sector. However, these are less comprehensive than the coverage afforded to public employees under the Constitution (National Conference of State Legislatures 2010).

Public employees also have constitutional rights under fourth amendment privacy and fourteenth and fifth amendment equal protection of the laws. *City of Ontario, California v. Quon* (2010) is illustrative of the Supreme Court's reluctance to permit public employees to be treated by their governmental employers identically to the way the justices perceive that private employers deal with their workers. The Court explained that a previous case, *O'Connor v. Ortega* (1987), set forth two different approaches for assessing public employees' fourth amendment rights. In *O'Connor*, the Court did disagree on the proper analytical framework for Fourth Amendment claims against government employers. A four-Justice plurality concluded that ... a court must consider "[t]he operational realities of the workplace" in order to determine whether an employee's Fourth Amendment rights are implicated. ... On this view, "the question whether an employee has a reasonable expectation of privacy must be addressed on a case-by-case basis." ... Next, where an employee has a legitimate privacy expectation, an employer's intrusion on that expectation "for noninvestigatory, work-related purposes, as well as for investigations of work-related misconduct, should be judged by the standard of reasonableness under all the circumstances."

Justice Scalia, concurring in the judgment, outlined a different approach. His opinion would have dispensed with an inquiry into "operational realities" and would conclude "that the offices of government employees ... are covered by Fourth Amendment protections as a general matter." ... But he would also have held "that government searches to retrieve work-related materials or to investigate violations of workplace rules—searches of the sort that are regarded as reasonable and normal in the private-employer context—do not violate the Fourth Amendment." (*City of Ontario, California v. Quon* 2010, 756–757)

In *Quon* the Court held that because the search of Quon's government-issued pager was reasonable there was no need to decide which of the two *O'Connor* approaches is the correct interpretation. In short, the majority was not ready to make public employees' fourth amendment rights depend on what is "normal" in the private sector (*City of Ontario, California v. Quon* 2010, 757). The fourth amendment also controls drug testing in the public sector (*National Treasury Union Employees v. Von Raab* 1989).

Under federal law, neither public nor most private employers may discriminate against employees based on race, color, religion, ethnicity, sex, age, or disability. However, in some circumstances civil rights law affords private employers more leeway to engage in affirmative action in order to promote diversity. This is because hiring and promotion goals based on race or ethnicity in the public sector are regulated by the equal protection clause and "must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict scrutiny. In other words, such classifications are constitutional only if they are narrowly tailored measures that further compelling governmental interests" (*Adarand Constructors v. Peña* 1995, 227). Public-sector affirmative action based on sex also faces a constitutional test: the government must be "exceedingly persuasive" in demonstrating



that the means used are substantially related to the achievement of an important governmental purpose (*United States v. Virginia* 1996, 533, 546).

Public administration also faces constitutional restrictions when dealing with contractors. This is true regarding equal protection as outlined immediately above, and also extends to freedom of speech. *Board of County Commissioners, Wabaunsee County v. Umbehr* (1996) provides a good example of how the U.S. Constitution complicates public administrative relationships with contractors. Umbehr, a contractor for trash collection, publicly criticized Wabaunsee's three-member board of commissioners for the county's landfill rates and for violating Kansas' Open Meetings Act. He also ran for election to the board. The board members "allegedly took Umbehr's criticism badly." The board terminated his contract, which Umbehr claimed was in retaliation for his exercise of his first and fourteenth amendment rights to freedom of speech. The Supreme Court made it clear that "the First Amendment restricts the freedom of federal, state, or local governments to terminate their relationships with independent contractors because of the contractors' speech" (*Board of County Commissioners, Wabaunsee County v. Umbehr* 1996, 672).

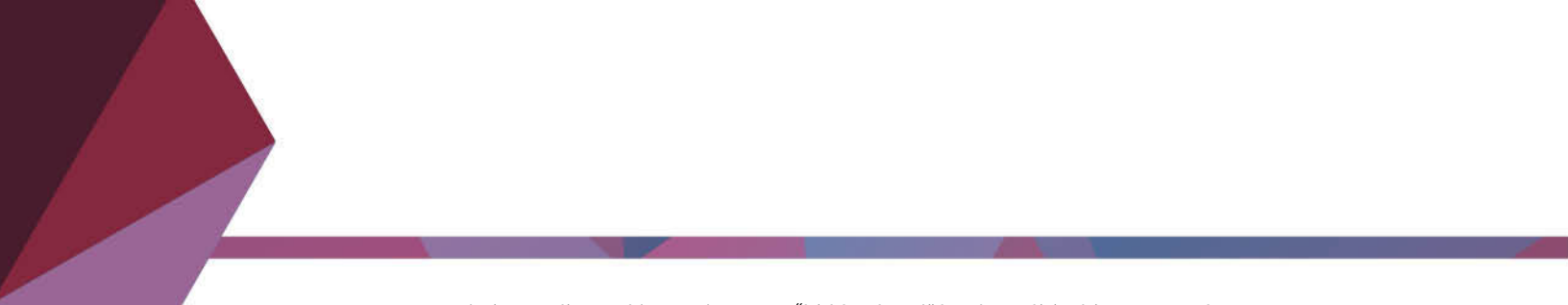
In *O'Hare Truck Service, Inc. v. City of Northlake* (1996), decided the same day as *Umbehr*, the Supreme Court extended first and fourteenth amendment protection to firms having preexisting noncontractual commercial relationships with government. Specifically, the Court held that constitutional protection applies when "government retaliates against a contractor, or a regular provider of services, for the exercise of rights of political association or the expression of political allegiance" (*O'Hare Truck Service, Inc. v. City of Northlake* 1996, 715).

The Constitution is also relevant to governmental relationships with clients and customers. Again, constitutional equal protection and civil rights statutory requirements prohibit government from discriminating based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, age, and disability. Constitutional provisions applying to government have parallels applying to the private sector in statutory law. However, public agencies face the potential of judicially imposed remedial law reforms for constitutional violations. Remedial law often relies on "the continuing judicial intervention in the direct management and reform of departments and agencies" as judges undertake "deliberate, comprehensive and often complex court efforts to change the organizational behavior of school systems, prisons, mental hospitals, and public housing authorities judged to violate individual rights" (Wood and Vose 1990, ix).

Public schools, which have clear counterparts in the private sector (including nonprofits), provide a good example of the application and scope of remedial law. In perhaps the archetypal case, *Morgan v. Kerrigan* (1975), a federal district court completely revamped the Boston public school system. The court's remedial plan included the creation of eight school districts within which busing would operate to ensure a high degree of school desegregation. "Examination" schools were established for students with exceptional intellectual ability and were required to have student bodies that were at least 35 percent African-American and Hispanic. Citywide magnet schools with particular specializations were also created while twenty schools were closed. The ultimate inefficacy of the court's remedial plan notwithstanding, no private school has been or could be subject to such a degree of judicial intervention into its internal management. The private sector faces a variety of judicially imposed remedies for illegal behavior. Remedial law as it operates in the public sector is not among them.

Politics

An obvious quality that makes the public sector public is its authority to make laws and policies that are binding on the population as a whole, specific segments of it, and "legal persons" such as corporations and formal organizations. The public sector can exercise coercive governmental power. This aspect of the public sector goes a long way toward explaining the lack of output markets, the treatment of excess revenues, and the application of constitutional and administrative law. Much of what public administrators



do is not directed by markets or a “hidden hand,” but by political interest and power.

To a large extent, public administrators operate in areas characterized by market failure, collective action problems having negative consequences, the production of public goods, and a scale of activity thought to be too great for the private sector to support. Many agencies operate where markets fail or function in ways government deems inappropriate. For example, the following federal agencies are associated with specific market failures or performance deficits, including the commodification of labor and limited ability to take future generations into account with respect to the use of nonrenewable natural resources:

Federal Trade Commission—monopolization, information asymmetry;

Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice—monopolization;

Environmental Protection Agency—externalities;

Departments of Agriculture, Interior, and Commerce (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration), Army Corps of Engineers, Environmental Protection Agency—conservation;

Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration—labor immobility;

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—systematic discrimination based on sociobiological factors;

Security and Exchange Commission; Federal Energy Regulatory Commission; Commodity Credit Corporation, Federal Communications Commission; National Labor Relations Board; Federal Maritime Commission—various market functioning problems;


Food and Drug Administration; Federal Aviation Administration; Federal Railroad Administration; National Highway Traffic Safety Administration; National Transportation Safety Board; Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board; Occupational Safety and Health Administration; Consumer Product Safety Commission; Mine Safety and Health Review Commission; Nuclear Regulatory Administration—public and worker safety.

In one way or another, all the cabinet-level departments and many independent agencies and regulatory commissions are involved in the production of public goods or quasi-public goods such as national security, education, and infrastructure and/or efforts to resolve collective action problems involving rational individual behavior that yields dysfunctional aggregate results such as some forms of environmental degradation. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is an example of an administrative unit that was created in part because the scale of its operations was considered too great for the private sector to support.

Lacking markets to generate revenues, public administration is funded through political rather than economic processes. The politics of public budgeting has been well-researched (Borcherding 1977; Wildavsky 1984). Budgeting priorities are normative, and as a polity, the United States has no comprehensive agreed-upon answer to V.O. Key’s famous question: “On what basis shall it be decided to allocate x dollars to activity A instead of activity B?” (Key 1940). Budgets deal with Lasswell’s quintessential question of “who gets what, when, and how?” (Lasswell 1958). The answers are inherently political.

Relatedly, political controls substitute for market discipline in regulating public administrative behavior. The decisions whether to regulate and provide services, at what levels, where, and how, are largely driven by politics rather than marginal costs and technical capacity alone. This reality necessarily infuses public administration with policy considerations, and with policymaking comes political interest, pressure, competition, and conflict.

The study of bureaucratic politics offers many models and frameworks for answering Lasswell’s question.



Two of these, one offered by James Q. Wilson and another by Theodore J. Lowi, have been particularly comprehensive and enduring. In “The Politics of Regulation,” Wilson (1980, 367–372) explained how the distribution of costs and benefits defines four familiar types of politics:

Interest Group Politics take place when the costs and benefits are narrowly concentrated. Interest group will oppose interest group if a regulation will “benefit a small group at the expense of another comparable small group” giving “[e]ach side . . . a strong incentive to organize and exercise political influence” especially if “[t]he public does not believe it will be much affected one way or another.” A contest between employees and employers over the levels of toxic substances in workplaces in specific industries is an example.

Client Politics occur “when the benefits of a prospective policy are concentrated but the costs are widely distributed.” A small and easily organized group can benefit with little opposition from those who will bear the widely distributed costs. Client politics is exemplified by subsidies to specific industries and crops.

Entrepreneurial Politics arise where “a policy may be proposed that will confer general (though perhaps small) benefits at a cost borne chiefly by a small segment of society.” Because it is easier for those who will bear the costs to organize, the entrepreneur’s role is to mobilize a broad segment of the public in favor of a policy, such as automobile safety.

Majoritarian Politics occur when both the costs and benefits of a policy are widely distributed so that “[a]ll or most of society expects to gain; all or most of society expects to pay.” Social security and anti-trust policy are examples.

Lowi’s (1964) framework is based on the observation that different types of policies are associated with distinctive types of politics and administrative implementation. In his original formulation, Lowi identified the following “arenas of power”:

In the *distribution arena*, the primary units involved are individual firms and relationships among them are nonconflictual and characterized by log-rolling and mutual interference. The locus of decisions is in Congress or administrative agencies and implementation is apt to be by an administrative bureau. This arena is characterized by an elite power structure.


In the *regulatory arena*, the primary unit will be groups and relationships among them will involve bargaining. The power structure will be pluralistic and Congress will be the key decision maker, though implementation will be by agencies relying on delegated authority.

The *redistribution arena* is characterized by conflict among peak associations, class, and ideology in contests among conflicting elites or elites and non-elites. Decision making is in the executive branch and implementation is centralized within agencies.

After formulating the original framework, Lowi added the arena of *constituent politics*, which addresses matters of constitutional and political system design, formal rules, and related matters central to how a polity functions. The primary actors in this arena are political and administrative elites at the top of a political system.

A great deal has changed in U.S. politics and administration since Wilson and Lowi developed their frameworks. Nevertheless, politics drives agency missions, structure, budgets, human resource policies, and many other facets of public administration. Sufficient stability in bureaucratic politics with respect to the distribution of costs and benefits and the structure of policy arenas enables these two frameworks to retain considerable and continuing explanatory power.

Conclusion



So what is public about the public sector? Looking through the lenses of management, politics, and law one can observe a number of attributes that, *taken as a whole*, differentiate the public context from everything else in society. Public managers run constitutions. This requires them to coordinate the separation of powers and federalism. It subordinates and places them in the joint custody of legislatures, chief executives, and the judiciary. Administrative law also regulates how they run their constitutions by infusing public administration with democratic-constitutional values including accountability, representativeness, participation, transparency, and due process. These and other values such as environmental justice and sustainability are mission extrinsic for most agencies most of the time when mission is defined as achieving the core objectives for which agencies were created. If mission is conceptualized more broadly, such as running a constitution, then perhaps with some exceptions, they would be viewed as intrinsic to appropriate performance (Rosenbloom 2007).

The constitutional law of public employment, which guarantees those working in the public sector first amendment, due process, and fourth amendment rights that set them apart from private-sector employees, exemplifies how a broad vision of agency mission could incorporate a wide range of public values. The term “at will employment” is a misnomer in the public sector, as McPherson’s case makes clear, because curtailing the rights of a large segment of the population, such as public employees, is troublesome in a regime that partly defines itself as an exemplar and guarantor of human rights.

Additionally, because the public sector largely operates where markets cannot or do not function well, its revenues predominantly come from public budgets rather than profits. Where there is a mandate for universal service, as in answering FOIA requests, neither can public agencies use marginal costs as a guide to expanding or contracting services. Such mandates are driven by politics, not markets, as James Q. Wilson’s and Theodore Lowi’s frameworks help make clear.

It is possible to find private-sector functional equivalents to some of these public-sector attributes in some private-sector organizations; it may even be possible to find equivalents to all of them in a few such organizations. However, to one degree or another they are inherent in all public-sector organizations. That does not mean that Sayre’s inference is correct: public and private organizations can be similar in *some important* respects. Taking a cue from Appleby, however, it is sufficient to conclude that the public context is different.

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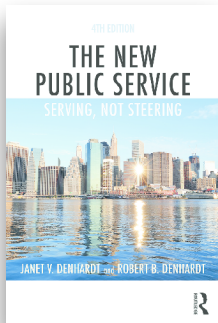
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Public Administration and the New Public Management

Chapter 2: Public Administration and the New Public Management



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Government shouldn't be run like a business; it should be run like a democracy. Across this country and around the world, both elected and appointed public servants are acting on this principle and expressing renewed commitment to such ideals as the public interest, the governance process, and expanding democratic citizenship. As a result, they are learning new skills in policy development and implementation, recognizing and accepting the complexity of the challenges they face, and treating their fellow public servants and citizens with renewed dignity and respect. Public employees are feeling more valued and energized as this sense of service and community expands. In the process, public servants are also reconnecting with citizens. Administrators are realizing that they have much to gain by *listening* to the public rather than *telling*, and by *serving* rather than *steering*. At the invitation of public servants, even their urging, ordinary citizens are once again becoming engaged in the governance process. Citizens and public officials are working together to define and to address common problems in a cooperative and mutually beneficial way.

These developments can be understood as part of a movement that we call the "New Public Service." The New Public Service seeks to pose and inform a number of central, normative questions about the field. How can we define the essential character of what we do in the public service? What is the motivating force that propels our actions? What gives us strength and capacity when the trials and turmoil of our work get us down? How can we keep going, even as we face problems that are complex and intractable, with extremely limited resources and a public that often resents and criticizes what we do? We think the answer lies in our commitment to public service.

We find no other reasonable explanation for the extraordinary dedication and commitment of the people who work to make the world safer and cleaner, to improve our health, to teach our children, and to unravel the host of societal maladies that confront us. Where else can we find the foundations for our efforts to facilitate citizenship and public engagement as a central part of our work? What else can keep the firefighters, the police officers, the social workers, the planners and the inspectors, the receptionists and the clerks, the managers and the analysts serving their communities and their country with energy, resolve, and determination?

Research tells us that the ideals of public service are critically important in understanding how public servants can be successful in the work they do. Our objective is to present a unifying set of themes and principles that both express and reaffirm the importance of these public service values. Questions about these values have, of course, been debated throughout the history of public administration in this country, and elsewhere, but there seems to be more concern for these issues today than before. Certainly, there are some important *driving forces* that have been widely discussed in the field of public administration: the New Public Management and the Managing for Results movement, to name just two. Although these influences have been important, none has satisfied our more basic yearning to answer some core questions: Who are we? Why are we here? What does all this mean? People in public administration throughout the history of our field have been encouraged to make things work, but that's only a partial answer. We also want to do something of societal value.

Therein lies the soul of public administration. What is most significant, and most valuable, about public administration is that we serve citizens to advance the common good. Public administrators are responsible for improving the public health, for maintaining public safety, for enhancing the quality of our environment, and myriad other tasks. Ultimately, for them, for us, what really matters is not how efficiently we have done our jobs, but how we have contributed to a better life for all. In this book, we call for an affirmation of the soul of the profession through the New Public Service, a movement grounded in the public interest, in the ideals of democratic governance, and in a renewed civic engagement. This



movement, we will argue, is more than ever being manifest in the way we interact with political leaders, in the way we engage with citizens, and in the way we bring about positive changes in our organizations and our communities.

The Old Public Administration


Although governments have used complex structures of management and organization throughout human history, public administration as a self-conscious field of study and practice is generally thought to have begun around the turn of the century. Its American version, for example, is typically dated to a well-known essay by Woodrow Wilson, then college professor, later president of the United States. Wilson acknowledged the growing and increasingly complex administrative tasks of government by commenting that, “it is getting harder to run a constitution than to frame one” (Wilson 1987/1887, 200). In order to more effectively run government, Wilson advised that we look to the field of business, as, “the field of administration is a field of business” (209). In order to follow the model of business, Wilson advised, government should establish executive authorities, controlling essentially hierarchical organizations and having as their goal achieving the most reliable and efficient operations possible.

Those residing at these centers of power, however, were not to be actively or extensively involved in the development of policy. Their tasks were, instead, the implementation of policy and the provision of services, and in those tasks they were expected to act with neutrality and professionalism to execute faithfully the directives that came their way. They were to be watched carefully and held accountable to elected political leaders, so as not to deviate from established policy. Wilson recognized a potential danger in the other direction as well; the possibility that politics, or more specifically corrupt politicians, might negatively influence administrators in their pursuit of organizational efficiency. This concern led to Wilson’s well-known dictum, “Administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices” (Wilson 1987/1887, 210). Thus, Wilson established what was known for many years as the politics–administration (or policy–administration) dichotomy.

Two Key Themes

In Wilson’s essay, we find two key themes that served as a focus for the study of public administration for the next half-century or more. First, there was the distinction between politics (or policy) and administration, with its associated ideas of accountability to elected leaders and neutral competence on the part of administrators. Second, there was concern for creating structures and strategies of administrative management that would permit public organizations and their managers to act in the most efficient way possible. Each of these ideas deserves further comment.

First, the idea of separating politics and administration received much early commentary and came to guide practice in a number of important ways. For example, the dichotomy is clearly the basis for the council–manager form of local government, which involves the council being given the responsibility of establishing policy and the city manager being charged with implementing it. Of course, in the council–manager example, as in other areas, a strict separation of politics and administration proved difficult. Members of governing bodies, whether members of city councils or state or federal legislators, always maintained an active interest in the operations of administrative agencies. Especially through the oversight function, they exercised considerable influence in the operations of agencies. Conversely, administrators came to play a more active role in the policy process, especially as they brought expert advice to bear on the legislative process. Over time, many commentators, such as Luther Gulick, first city administrator of New York and a founder of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), argued that policy and administration could not be separated, that every act of a public manager involves a “seamless web of discretion and action” (1933, 561). Others, such as Paul Appleby, dean of the Maxwell



School at Syracuse University, were even more to the point: “public administration is policymaking” (Appleby 1949, 170).

The distinction Wilson drew between politics and administration has certainly blurred over time. Yet, in many ways, the relationship between politics and administration remains important to the field of public administration. Although a *dichotomy* between politics and administration is over- drawn, the interaction of political and administrative concerns is certainly key to understanding how government operates, even today. Perhaps more important, however, the separation of politics and administration lies at the heart of the Old Public Administration’s version of accountability, one in which appointed administrators were held to be accountable to their political “masters”—and only through them to the citizenry. In this view, the requirements of democratic governance are satisfied where a neutral and competent civil service is controlled by and accountable to elected political leaders. Frederick Cleveland, an early writer, commented that democratic accountability is maintained where there is a “representative body (such as a legislature) outside of the administration with power to determine the will of the membership (the citizens) and to enforce (that) will on the administration” (Cleveland 1920, 15; parentheses added). In this view, the legislature operates somewhat like a board of directors overseeing a business operation.

Second, Wilson held, and others agreed, that public organizations should seek the greatest possible efficiency in their operations, and that such efficiency was best achieved through unified and largely hierarchical structures of administrative management. Certainly, that view was consistent with thinking among business managers of the period. Many, such as the efficiency expert Frederick W. Taylor (1923), employed a “scientific management” approach to try to learn, through detailed “time and motion” studies, exactly how the productive process could be improved. Taylor, for example, sought to determine the “one best way” to shovel dirt by designing an experiment that would calculate the ideal weight of a single shovelful of dirt—ideal in the sense of producing the most shoveled dirt per day!


Other early theorists, such as Leonard White (1926) and W.F. Willoughby (1927), focused on building organizational structures that would operate with high efficiency. Again, most found attractive the idea of a strong chief executive vested with the power and authority to carry out the work assigned to the agency. Moreover, that chief executive would be most successful if he or she operated through an organizational structure characterized by unity of command, hierarchical authority, and a strict division of labor. The job of the executive, therefore, was to determine the best division of labor, then to develop the appropriate means of coordination and control.

Or, following Gulick’s classic acronym POSDCORB, the work of the executive was planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting (1937, 13). But again, efficiency was the key value accepted by most early writers and practitioners.

Dissenting Views

That is not to say, however, that *all* accepted efficiency is the ultimate criterion by which to judge administrators. Marshall Dimock, an academic and practitioner, challenged that idea, writing that mechanical efficiency is “coldly calculating and inhuman,” whereas, “successful administration is warm and vibrant. It is human” (Dimock 1936, 120). Successful administration, he continued, “is more than a lifeless pawn. It plans, it contrives, it philosophizes, it educates, it builds for the community as a whole” (133). Others suggested that administrators, as well as political leaders, were ultimately concerned with issues such as justice, liberty, freedom, and equality—issues far more formidable and difficult than efficiency alone.

Finally, many writers noted that the search for organizational efficiency might easily occur at the expense of involving citizens in the work of government. Writing somewhat later, Dwight Waldo, perhaps the best-known public administration theorist of his generation, summarized the emerging orthodoxy in the field of



public administration by writing that, “The means and measurements of efficiency, it was felt and strongly stated, were the same for all administration. Democracy, if it were to survive, could not afford to ignore the lessons of centralization, hierarchy, and discipline” (Waldo 1948, 200). Moreover, he commented, “Both private and public administration were in an important . . . sense false to the ideal of democracy . . . by reason of their insistence that democracy, however good and desirable, is nevertheless something peripheral to administration” (Waldo 1952, 7).

So, in contrast to using efficiency as the sole criterion for assessing administrative performance, one might employ other criteria, such as responsiveness to the concerns of citizens. An appealing view, one might say. Yet these alternative voices were counterpoint at best, as the emerging field of public administration moved firmly through the ideas of “politics and administration,” “scientific management,” “administrative management,” and “bureaucratic management.” In each case, theory and practice confirmed the importance of tightly integrated hierarchical structures, controlled from the top by managers interested in achieving the organization’s goals and objectives in the most efficient manner possible. Interestingly, even as the field moved through the next several decades and into its behavioral or “scientific” phase, these same issues continued to be highlighted. Though the justification was somewhat different, the resulting recommendations were much the same.

The Rational Model

The classic *Administrative Behavior* (1957), written by Herbert Simon, a political scientist who later won a Nobel Prize in economics, laid out the argument best. According to the positive science viewpoint Simon represented, statements may be classified according to whether they are true or false. Scientists, of course, are concerned with establishing the truth of certain propositions. In order to do so, they must strip away those pesky “values” that tend to interfere in human affairs. So, those terms that speak to individual or group preferences are not to be admitted into scientific study, in this case the study of administrative behavior. Rather, Simon argued that a single standard, the standard of efficiency, may be used to help remove values from the discussion of organized action.

The key to this argument is the concept of rationality. According to Simon, human beings are limited in the degree of rationality they can obtain in reference to the problems they face, but they can join together in groups and organizations to deal effectively with the world around them, and they can do so in a rational manner. After all, in the abstract, it’s not hard to develop a rational course of action to achieve most objectives. The problem comes when we insert real live people, with all their human concerns and idiosyncrasies, into the picture. The issue then becomes one of how to match these people with the rational plan and how to assure that human behavior follows the most efficient path possible.

In contrast to a long philosophical tradition that holds human reason to be concerned with such issues as justice, equality, and freedom, Simon’s more restricted view is that rationality is concerned with coordinating the proper means to accomplish the desired ends. In this view, rationality is equated with efficiency. For what Simon called “administrative man,” the most rational behavior is that which moves an organization efficiently toward its objectives.

Administrative man accepts the organizational goals as the value premises of his decisions, is particularly sensitive and reactive to the influence upon him on the other members of the organization, forms stable expectations regarding his own role . . . and has high morale in regard to the organization’s goals. (Simon, Smithburg, and Thompson 1950, 82)

Then, through what is called the inducements–contributions model, by controlling the inducements offered to members of the organization, its leaders could secure their contribution and compliance with the rational design of the organization, the result being a far more efficient and productive organization.



Public Choice


Some years after Simon's work, an interesting interpretation of administrative behavior, and one more closely allied with the classic "economic man" position, emerged. This new approach, called "public choice theory," actually provides an interesting bridge between the Old Public Administration and the New Public Management, for, although public choice theory was developed during the time period we generally associate with the Old Public Administration, as we will see later, public choice became much more significant as the key theoretical basis for the New Public Management. For this reason, we will only briefly outline public choice theory here, but return to it frequently throughout the material that follows.

Public choice theory is based on several key assumptions. First, and most important, public choice theory focuses on the individual, assuming that the individual decision maker, like the traditional "economic man," is rational and self-interested and seeks to maximize his or her own "utilities." According to this view, individuals "always seek the biggest possible benefits and the least costs in [any decision situation]. People are basically egoistic, self-regarding and instrumental in their behavior" (Dunleavy 1991, 3). Even if people are not that way, economists and public choice theorists argue that it enables us to better explain human behavior if we *assume* that they are. Second, public choice theory focuses on the idea of "public goods" as the output of public agencies. These can be distinguished from private goods in that a public good, such as national defense, when provided to one person will be provided to all.

A third idea associated with public choice is that different kinds of decision rule or decision situation will result in different approaches to choice making. For this reason, structuring decision rules to influence human choice, and in turn human behavior, is a key to the operations of public agencies and the governance system more generally. In this view, "public agencies are viewed as a means for allocating decision-making capabilities in order to provide public goods and services responsive to the preferences of individuals in different social contexts" (Ostrom and Ostrom 1971, 207). In other words, the public choice approach involves the application of economic models and approaches to nonmarket circumstances, especially government and political science, so as to provide structures and incentives to guide human behavior.

There are a number of questions that have been raised about public choice theory. The first and most obvious is the empirical one. Do individuals really consistently act in a self-interested way so as to maximize their utilities? Obviously, there are many situations in which they do, but also many in which they do not. This means that the public choice model must sacrifice behavioral accuracy in order to put forward a key construct upon which the rest of its theorizing is based. The result is a set of logical propositions based on assumptions that may only remotely correspond to actual human behavior. To an even greater extent than Simon's model of "administrative man," the more purely "economic man" of the public choice model is based on an assumption of complete rationality. One might ask, "Why not focus on other aspects of the human experience, such as feelings or intuition?" For the public choice theorist, the answer is that, in order to provide better explanations for human behavior, we should concentrate on the way individuals and groups attempt to maximize their own interests and on the way that market mechanisms both influence and respond to individual choices.

As Yale political scientist Robert Dahl (1947) pointed out in a critique of Simon's view, a critique also applicable to the more recent public choice model, to say that an action is rational is not to say that it serves moral or politically responsible purposes, but merely to say that it moves the organization forward more efficiently. Dahl suggested that, in contrast, efficiency is itself a value and should compete with other values, such as individual responsibility or democratic morality. In many cases, argued Dahl, efficiency would not be the primary value chosen. For example, how would we evaluate the operation of the German prison camps in World War II, camps that by all accounts were run quite efficiently? Or, more to the current point, how would we balance a concern for administrative efficiency in a public agency with the need for



that agency to involve citizens in its decision processes? We think that is an important question. But Dahl's point, like similar arguments made by Waldo and others, was relegated to a position somewhat outside the mainstream in the emerging dialogue about the structure and conduct of public organizations.

Core Ideas

Obviously, many other scholars and practitioners contributed to the early development of the field of public administration. And, as we have seen, there is not a single set of ideas agreed to by all those who contributed over the decades to the Old Public Administration. However, we think that it is fair to say that the following elements generally represent the mainstream view of the Old Public Administration:

The focus of government is on the direct delivery of services through existing or through newly authorized agencies of government.

Public policy and administration are concerned with designing and implementing policies focused on a single, politically defined objective.

Public administrators play a limited role in policymaking and governance; rather, they are charged with the implementation of public policies.

The delivery of services should be carried out by administrators accountable to elected officials and given limited discretion in their work.

Administrators are responsible to democratically elected political leaders.

Public programs are best administered through hierarchical organizations, with managers largely exercising control from the top of the organization.

The primary values of public organizations are efficiency and rationality.


Public organizations operate most efficiently as closed systems; thus citizen involvement is limited.

The role of the public administrator is largely defined as planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting.

There's no question that the Old Public Administration should be given a considerable amount of credit. Administrators operating largely within the confines of this view made (and continue to make) dramatic and important contributions to society, in areas ranging from national defense, to social security, to transportation, to public health, and to the protection of the environment. The Old Public Administration has allowed us to deal effectively with extremely complex and difficult problems and to maintain a balance between political and administrative concerns. Given the circumstances of its time, the Old Public Administration served well, even if imperfectly. It continues to do so. Most government agencies still follow this basic model of organization and management—or at least this model seems to be the “default” position for agencies at all levels of government. But the old model has come under increasing attack, especially by proponents of what we will call the New Public Management.

The New Public Management

As it is used here, the New Public Management refers to a cluster of contemporary ideas and practices that seek, at their core, to use private-sector and business approaches in the public sector. Although, as we have seen, there have long been calls to “run government like a business,” the current version of this debate



involves more than just the use of business techniques. Rather, the New Public Management has become a normative model, one signaling a profound shift in how we think about the role of public administrators, the nature of the profession, and how and why we do what we do.

Over the past couple of decades, the New Public Management has literally swept the nation and the world. As a result, a number of highly positive changes have been implemented in the public sector (Barzelay 2001a; Kettl 2005; Kettl and Milward 1996; Lynn 1996; Lynn 2006; Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Osborne and Plastrik 1997; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000; Shamsul 2007). The common theme in the myriad of applications of these ideas has been the use of market mechanisms and terminology, in which the relationships between public agencies and their customers is understood as involving transactions similar to those that occur in the marketplace. “Painted with the broadest brush, these reforms sought to replace the traditional rule-based, authority-driven processes with market-based, competition-driven tactics” (Kettl 2000a, 3).

In the New Public Management, public managers are challenged either to find new and innovative ways to achieve results or to privatize functions previously provided by government. They are urged to “steer, not row,” meaning they should not assume the burden of service delivery themselves, but, wherever possible, should define programs that others would then carry out, through contracting or other such arrangements. The key is that the New Public Management relies heavily on market mechanisms to guide public programs. Harvard’s Linda Kaboolian explains that these arrangements might include “competition within units of government and across government boundaries to the non-profit and for profit sectors, performance bonuses, and penalties” (Kaboolian 1998, 190). The aim is to loosen what advocates of the New Public Management see as an inefficient monopoly franchise of public agencies and public employees. Elaborating on this point, Christopher Hood, of the London School of Economics, writes that the New Public Management moves away from traditional modes of legitimizing the public bureaucracy, such as procedural safeguards on administrative discretion, in favor of “trust in the market and private business methods . . . ideas . . . couched in the language of economic rationalism” (1995, 94).

Following these ideas, many public managers have initiated efforts to increase productivity and to find alternative service-delivery mechanisms based on economic assumptions and perspectives. They have concentrated on accountability to customers and high performance, restructuring bureaucratic agencies, redefining organizational missions, streamlining agency processes, and decentralizing decision making. In many cases, governments and government agencies have succeeded in privatizing previously public functions, holding top executives accountable for measurable performance goals, establishing new processes for measuring productivity and effectiveness, and reengineering departmental systems to reflect a strengthened commitment to accountability (Barzelay 2001b; Boston et al. 1996; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000).


Donald Kettl, of the Brookings Institution, sees what he calls the “global public management reform,” focusing on six core issues (adapted from Kettl 2000a, 1–2):

How can government find ways to squeeze more services from the same or a smaller revenue base?

How can government use market-style incentives to root out the pathologies of bureaucracy; how can traditional bureaucratic command- and-control mechanisms be replaced with market strategies that will change the behavior of program managers?

How can government use market mechanisms to give citizens (now often called “customers”) greater choices among services—or at least encourage greater attention to serving customers better?

How can government make programs more responsive? How can government decentralize



responsibility to give front-line managers greater incentives to serve?

How can government improve its capacity to devise and track policy? How can government separate its role as a purchaser of services (a contractor) from its role in actually delivering services?

How can government focus on outputs and outcomes instead of processes or structures? How can it replace top-down, rule-driven systems with bottom-up, results-driven systems?

Similarly, New Zealand's Jonathon Boston had earlier characterized the central features or doctrines of the New Public Management, as follows:


[An] emphasis on management rather than policy; a shift from the use of input controls ... to a reliance on quantifiable output measures and performance targets; the devolution of management control coupled with the development of new reporting, monitoring, and accountability mechanisms; the disaggregation of large bureaucratic structures into quasi- autonomous agencies, in particular the separation of commercial from non- commercial functions ... a preference for private ownership, contracting out, and contestability in public service provision; the imitation of certain private sector management practices, such as ... the development of corporate plans (and) performance agreements, the introduction of performance-linked remuneration systems ... and a greater concern for corporate image; a general preference for monetary incentives rather than non-monetary incentives, such as ethics, ethos, and status; and a stress on cost-cutting, efficiency, and cutback management. (Boston 1991, 9–10)

Around the World

The effectiveness of this practical reform agenda in such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain, and later the United States put governments around the world on notice that new standards were being sought and new roles established. That is not to say that each of these countries followed exactly the same pattern in seeking management reform in the public sector. As leading European scholars Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouckaert are careful to point out, efforts to reform are constrained by the philosophy and culture of governance within a particular country, by the nature and structure of that country's government, and by luck and coincidence. However, "Certain regimes look as though they are much more open to the 'performance-driven,' market-favouring ideas of the New Public Management than others, particularly the 'Anglo-Saxon' countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA" (2000, 60–61).

New Zealand's reform efforts were noteworthy, beginning in the mid 1980s as the Labor Party came to power after nine years out of office. At the time, New Zealand's economy had stagnated, and the country found it hard to sustain its traditionally generous social programs and economic support. "The New Zealand reforms began with a top-down approach that sought to privatize programs wherever possible, to substitute market incentives for command-and-control bureaucracies; and to focus single-mindedly on outputs and results instead of inputs" (Kettl 2000a, 8). The key principles underlying the model seemed to be that the government should only be involved in activities that could not be more efficiently and effectively handled elsewhere, and that government should, wherever possible, be organized along the lines of private enterprise. Additionally, there was a strong dependence on incentive systems and the use of explicit contracts between ministers and managers or between purchasers (agencies) and providers (contractors) (Boston et al. 1996, 4–6). In terms of management systems, New Zealand essentially did away with its civil service system, allowing managers to negotiate their own contracts with employees and to introduce budget systems more focused on performance and results. The result was a massive transformation of public management in New Zealand.

Similar changes in the Australian approach to public administration and management in the 1980s and



beyond were also triggered by difficult economic times, but went far beyond simply enabling the government to make deep cuts in public programs. As early as 1983, the government under Prime Minister Robert Hawke had endorsed the notion of “managing for results” and had initiated a series of financial management and other reforms to achieve this objective. Again, a variety of efforts at privatization and governmental restructuring and efforts to evaluate programs in terms of specific desired results were implemented. Managers were encouraged to use corporate-style planning processes to identify priorities, goals, and objectives, to reconstitute financial management processes so as to better track expenditures in light of desired results, and to emphasize efficiency, productivity, and accountability for results.

The British reforms largely were triggered by Margaret Thatcher’s neoconservative efforts to reduce the size of the state. A key early effort was to reduce costs and spin off those activities that might be better accomplished in the private sector, while subjecting those that remained to market competition wherever possible. Additionally, the Financial Management Initiative centered on identifying specific centers of responsibility, associating costs with outcomes, and holding managers contractually responsible for achieving those outcomes. A later “citizen’s charter” exercise sought to hold agencies responsible for meeting specific service standards.

The [British version of] the new public management stemmed from the basic economic argument that government suffered from the defects of monopoly, high transaction costs, and information problems that bred great inefficiencies. By substituting market competition—and marketlike incentives—the reformers believed they could shrink government’s size, reduce its costs, and improve its performance. (Kettl 2000a, 14)

(For recent reviews of the New Public Management in other countries, see Dent, Chandler, and Barry 2004; Lægreid and Christensen 2007; Levy 2010; Lynn 2006; Pollitt, Van Thiel, and Homberg 2007; Ramesh, Araral, and Wu 2010.)


The American Experience

These ideas were first crystallized and popularized in the United States by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler’s best-selling book, *Reinventing Government* (1992; see also Barzelay 2001a; Osborne and Plastrik 1997). Drawing on the experiences of other countries, especially New Zealand, as well as experiences at the state and local level in America, Osborne and Gaebler, a journalist and a former city manager, provided a number of now-familiar “principles” through which “public entrepreneurs” might bring about massive governmental reform, ideas that remain at the core of the New Public Management:

Catalytic Government, Steering Rather than Rowing: Public entrepreneurs move beyond existing policy options, serving instead as catalysts within their communities to generate alternative courses of action. They choose to *steer*, recognizing a wide range of possibilities and striking a balance between resources and needs, rather than rowing, concentrating on a single objective. Those who steer define their future, rather than simply relying on traditional assumptions (35).

Community-Owned Government, Empowering Rather than Serving: Public entrepreneurs have learned that past efforts to serve clients produced dependence, as opposed to economic and social independence. Rather than maintain this approach, these entrepreneurs shift ownership of public initiatives into the community. They empower citizens, neighborhood groups, and community organizations to be the sources of their own solutions (52).

Competitive Government, Injecting Competition into Service Delivery: Public entrepreneurs have recognized that attempting to provide every service not only places a drain on public resources but also causes public organizations to overextend their capabilities, thus reducing service quality and



effectiveness. These entrepreneurs counter this trend by fostering competition among public, private, and nongovernmental service providers. The results are “greater efficiency, enhanced responsiveness, and an environment that rewards innovation” (80–83).

Mission-Driven Government, Transforming Rule-Driven Organizations: Public entrepreneurs have seen how excessive rule making in bureaucratic organizations stifles innovation and limits government performance. Such rule making is further supported by rigid systems of budgeting and human resources. In contrast, public entrepreneurs focus first on the mission of the group—what the organization strives for internally and externally. Then, the budget, human resources, and other systems are designed to reflect the overall mission (110).

Results-Oriented Government, Funding Outcomes, Not Inputs: Public entrepreneurs believe that government should be dedicated to achieving substantive public goals, or outcomes, as opposed to concentrating strictly on controlling the public resources expended in doing the job. Current evaluation and reward systems focus mainly on fiscal efficiency and control, rarely asking what impacts were gained from each public initiative. Public entrepreneurs transform these systems to be more results-oriented—that is, accountability based on government performance (140–141).


Customer-Driven Government, Meeting the Needs of the Customer, Not the Bureaucracy: Public entrepreneurs have learned from their private-sector counterparts that, unless one focuses on the customer, the citizen will never be happy. As legislative bodies provide most public resources to government agencies, these agencies operate completely blind of their customer base. They function according to their own priorities, and those demanded of them by the funding source, instead of what their customers actually need. Public entrepreneurs stand this system on its head, serving the customer first (166–167).

Enterprising Government, Earning Rather than Spending: Public entrepreneurs face the same fiscal constraints as their traditional counterparts, but the difference is in the way they respond. Rather than raise taxes or slash public programs, public entrepreneurs find innovative ways to do more with less. By instituting the concept of profit motive into the public realm—for example, relying on charges and fees for public services and investments to fund future initiatives—public entrepreneurs are able to add value and ensure results, even in tight financial times (203–206).

Anticipatory Government, Prevention Rather than Cure: Public entrepreneurs have grown tired of funneling resources into programs to resolve public problems. Instead, they believe the primary concern should be prevention, stopping the problem before it ever occurs. Government in the past prided itself on service delivery—on being able to put forth initiatives aimed at curing public ills. However, as the problems in postindustrial society became more complex, government lost its capacity to respond. By returning to prevention, public organizations will be more efficient and effective for the future (219–221).

Decentralized Government, from Hierarchy to Participation and Teamwork: Public entrepreneurs appreciate the role centralized organizations served in the industrial age. These institutions represented the first steps toward professionalization in the field of public administration. Yet, the age of the hierarchical institution has passed. Advances in information technology, improved communications systems, and increases in workforce quality have brought in a new age of more flexible, team-based organizations. Decision making has been extended throughout the organization—placed in the hands of those who can innovate and determine the high-performance course (250–252).

Market-Oriented Government, Leveraging Change through the Market: Public entrepreneurs respond to changing conditions, not with traditional approaches, such as attempting to control the entire situation, but rather with innovative strategies aimed at shaping the environment to allow market forces to act. Each jurisdiction—whether a nation, a state, or a local community—represents a market, a collection of people,



interests, and social and economic forces. Public entrepreneurs realize that these markets remain beyond the control of any single political body. So, their strategy centers on structuring the environment so that the market can operate most effectively, thus ensuring quality of life and economic opportunity (280–282).

Osborne and Gaebler intended these 10 principles to serve as a new conceptual framework for public administration—an analytical checklist to transform the actions of government.

What we are describing is nothing less than a shift in the basic model of governance used in America. This shift is underway all around us, but because we are not looking for it—because we assume that all governments have to be big, centralized, and bureaucratic—we seldom see it. We are blind to the new realities, because they do not fit our preconceptions. (321)


In the United States, the effort to “reinvent government” came later than those in other Anglo-Saxon countries, was more highly politicized, and, in part for that reason, had its effect less on the overall structure of governance in the country and more on managerial practices. Two efforts were particularly important, the National Performance Review (NPR) and the Government Performance and Results Act. The NPR was President Bill Clinton’s effort, spearheaded by Vice President Al Gore, to create a government that “works better and costs less.” To do so, scores of government employees were sent throughout government agencies seeking out ways in which operations could be streamlined and made less costly. Specific recommendations numbered in the hundreds and included procurement reforms, changes in personnel policy, and developments in information technology. Moreover, there was a strong emphasis on serving the “customers” of government. The NPR, however, took place against a political backdrop necessitating serious cutbacks in federal employment, because this was the one activity that could produce rapid savings. Meanwhile, the congressionally driven Government Performance and Results Act required managers to establish specific performance standards and to “manage for results.” Summarizing the first five years of the NPR, Kettl writes that, despite its shortcomings, the NPR “saved a significant amount of money, brought substantial managerial reforms (especially in customer service and procurement processes), and promoted a more performance-based discussion about the functions of government” (Kettl 2000a, 29).

Intellectual Support

To this point, we have discussed the New Public Management in terms of the practical efforts undertaken in governments around the world to reform government operations. But we should also note the various intellectual justifications for the New Public Management. These justifications, as Lynn (1996) notes, largely came from the “public policy” schools that developed in the 1970s and from the “managerialist” movement around the world (Pollitt 1993).

The policy perspective that emerged in schools of public affairs and especially schools of public policy in the last few decades had its roots more clearly in economics as opposed to the more political, science-oriented programs in public administration. Many, though certainly not all, policy analysts and those engaged in policy evaluation were trained in, or at least familiar with, economics and were quite at home with terms such as “market economics,” “costs and benefits,” and “rational models of choice.” In turn, these schools began to turn their attention to policy implementation, which they called “public management” to distinguish it from the earlier “public administration,” notwithstanding the fact that both public management and public administration are concerned with implementing public policy through the conduct and operation of the various agencies of government. (The two terms can be used synonymously and often are, but, if there is a difference, it is that discussions of public management tend to show a bias toward economic interpretations of managerial behavior, as opposed to discussions of public administration, which are more likely based in political science, sociology, or organizational analysis.)

As the ultimate extension of the economic view, the New Public Management is clearly linked to the rationalist perspective and, as we noted earlier, especially public choice theory. One important variation on




public choice theory that has also influenced the development of the New Public Management is what is called “agency theory” or “principal agent theory.” Simply put, agency theory is concerned with the relation between principals and agents. “Agency” refers to a situation in which one individual (the agent) acts on behalf of another (the principal). For example, if I hire a lawyer, I am the principal, and the lawyer is my agent, but the lawyer has multiple incentives—win the case (my goal) and maximize billable hours (his goal). Because our objectives aren’t consistent, all sorts of problems arise. In the New Public Management, agency theory can be employed either to analyze issues arising within a particular bureaucracy (e.g., what incentives might a principal provide to assume compliance on the part of an agent?) or to assess the effects of different institutional structures (e.g., how might the multiple interests influencing police officers’ behavior affect a decision to privatize a police force?).

Public choice and its companion, agency theory, not only afford an elegant and, to some, compelling model of government, they have also served as a kind of intellectual road map for practical efforts to reduce government and make it less costly. For example, Boston and colleagues argue that, “one of the most distinctive and striking features of New Zealand’s public management reforms was the way they were shaped by . . . public choice theory and organizational economics, especially agency theory” (1996, 16). As we have seen, in its simplest form, public choice views the government from the standpoint of markets and customers. In turn, the commitment of public choice theory to rational choice implies a selection of values, most often a commitment to efficiency and productivity. It is not surprising then, as Hood suggests, that the New Public Management has clearly placed its emphasis on values such as efficiency, eliminating waste, or matching resources to clear goals (what he calls “sigma values”). However, he also points out that achieving those values may come at the expense of honesty and fair dealing, the avoidance of bias, or the pursuit of accountability (“theta values”), or security, resilience, and the capacity to adapt (“lambda values”) (Hood 1991; see also Hood and Jackson 1991, 14).

The second intellectual justification suggests that the New Public Management is deeply rooted in what has been termed “managerialism” or “neomanagerialism.” In the managerialist view, business and public-sector success depends on the quality and professionalism of managers. Christopher Pollitt has described “managerialism” as the belief that the road to social progress is through greater productivity, that such productivity will be enhanced by the discipline imposed by managers oriented toward greater efficiency and productivity, and that to perform this important role, managers must be given what is variously termed the “freedom to manage” or even the “right to manage” (Pollitt 1993, 1–3; see also Lynn 2006).

Some have argued, in addition, that the rise of the New Public Management is attributable, not only to managerialism, but also to the increasing influence of “managerialists.” Interestingly, in both New Zealand and Australia, a part of the transformation that occurred was very clearly linked to the emergence of a managerial class dominated by economists and those trained in economics. The Australian scholar Anna Yeatman, for example, argues that the turn toward managerialism in the Australian public service occurred when a large number of university-educated candidates, highly committed to a rationalized and task-oriented concept of public administration, were hired into high-level positions (Yeatman 1987). Michael Pusey, of the University of New South Wales, supports that view, arguing that, in Australia’s central agencies, staff drawn from economics or business-related professions—a group he terms “economic rationalists”—were able to capture the line bureaucracies and, especially by threatening to withhold resources, draw them into the rationalist perspective (Pusey 1991).

We have seen that the New Public Management, as the Old Public Administration before it, is not just about the implementation of new *techniques*, but that it carries with it a different set of *values*, a set of values in this case largely drawn from market economics and business management. As already noted, there is a longstanding tradition in public administration supporting the idea that, “government should be



run like a business.” For the most part, this recommendation has meant that government agencies should adopt those practices, ranging from “scientific management” to “total quality management,” that have been found useful in the private sector. The New Public Management takes this idea one step further, arguing that government should adopt, not only the *techniques* of business administration, but certain business *values* as well. Today, the New Public Management is presented as a normative model for public administration and public management.



Engaging the Debate

Certainly, the New Public Management has not been without its critics. Many scholars and practitioners have expressed concerns about the implications of the New Public Management and the role for public managers this model suggests. For example, in a *PAR* symposium on leadership, democracy, and public management, a number of authors thoughtfully considered the opportunities and challenges presented by the New Public Management. Those challenging the New Public Management in the symposium and elsewhere ask questions about the inherent contradictions in the movement (Fox 1996); the values it promotes (Box, Marshall, Reed, and Reed 2001; deLeon and Denhardt 2000; Frederickson 1996; Schachter 1997); the tensions between the emphasis on decentralization promoted in the market model and the need for coordination in the public sector (Bumgarner and Newswander 2009; Dent et al. 2004; Levy 2010; Meier and O’Toole 2009; Peters and Savoie 1996); and the implied roles and relationships of the executive and legislative branches (Carroll and Lynn 1996; Lynn 2006). Others have questioned the implications of the privatization movement for democratic values and the public interest (McCabe and Vinzant 1999) and how entrepreneurship and what Terry (1993, 1998) has called “neomanagerialism” threaten to undermine democratic and constitutional values such as fairness, justice, representation, and participation.

Osborne and Gaebler (1992) told us to steer, not row, the boat. Our question is this: As the field of public administration has increasingly abandoned the idea of rowing and accepted responsibility for steering, has it simply traded one “adminicentric” view for another? In other words, have we traded one model in which public managers seek to achieve greater efficiency and productivity by controlling their agencies and their clients for another model in which the same thing occurs? Osborne and Gaebler write, “those who steer the boat have far more power over its destination than those who row it” (1992, 32). If that is the case, the shift from rowing to steering may have not only left administrators in charge of the boat—choosing its goals and directions and charting a path to achieve them—but also given them more power to do so.

In our rush to steer, perhaps we are forgetting who owns the boat. In their book, *Government is Us* (1998), King and Stivers remind us that the government belongs to its citizens (see also Box 1998; Box et al. 2001; Cooper 1991; Eikenberry and Kluver 2004; Kelly 2005; King and Zanetti 2005; King, Feltey, and O’Neill 1998; Romzek and Johnston 2005; Stivers 1994a, 1994b; Thomas 1995). Accordingly, public administrators should focus on their responsibility to *serve and empower citizens* as they manage public organizations and implement public policy. In other words, with citizens at the forefront, the emphasis should not be placed on either steering or rowing the governmental boat, but rather on building public institutions marked by integrity and responsiveness.

Importantly, in making their case, proponents of New Public Management have often used the Old Public Administration as the foil against which principles of entrepreneurship can be seen as clearly superior. Note, for example, how Osborne and Gaebler contrast their principles to an alternative of rigid bureaucracies plagued with excessive rules, restricted by rule-bound budgeting and personnel systems, and preoccupied with control. These traditional bureaucracies are described as ignoring citizens, shunning innovation, and serving their own needs. According to Osborne and Gaebler, “The kind of governments that developed during the industrial era, with their sluggish, centralized bureaucracies, their preoccupation with rules and regulations, and their hierarchical chains of command, no longer work very well” (1992, 11–12). In fact, although they served their earlier purposes, “bureaucratic institutions . . . increasingly fail us” (15).

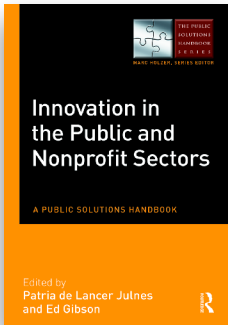


If the principles of New Public Management are compared with the Old Public Administration, the New Public Management clearly looks like a preferred alternative. However, even a cursory examination of the literature in public administration clearly demonstrates that these two approaches do not fully embrace contemporary government theory or practice (Adams and Balfour 2009; Agranoff 2007; Bevir 2009; Box 1998, 2008; Bozeman 2007; Bryer 2010; Bryson and Crosby 1992; Carnavale 1995; Catlaw 2007;

Cook 1996; Cooper 1991; deLeon 1997; Denhardt 1993, 2008; Farmer 1995, 2005; Fox and Miller 1995; Frederickson 1997; Gawthrop 1998; Goldbard 2010; Goodsell 1994; Harmon 1995, 2006; Hummel 1994; Ingraham et al. 1994; Ingraham and Lynn 2004; Jun 2006; Kettl 2009; Lee 2005; Light 1997, 2008; Luke 1998; McSwite 1997; Meier and O'Toole 2006; Miller and Fox 1997; Moynihan 2008; Nabatchi and Mergel 2010; O'Leary 2006; Perry 1996; Rabin, Hildreth, and Miller 1998; Rohr 1998; Sorensen and Torfing 2008; Stivers 1993; Svava 2007; Terry 1995, 1998; Thomas 1995; Van Wart 2005; Vinzant and Crothers 1998; Wamsley et al. 1990; Wamsley and Wolf 1996). The field of public administration, of course, has not been stuck in progressive reform rhetoric for the last hundred years. Instead, there has been a rich and vibrant intellectual and practical evolution in thought and practice, with important and substantial developments that cannot be subsumed under the title "New Public Management." Thus, there are more than two choices. We reject the notion that the reinvented, market-oriented New Public Management should be compared only with the Old Public Administration, which, despite its many important contributions, has come to be seen as synonymous with bureaucracy, hierarchy, and control. As we said, if that is the comparison, then New Public Management will always win. In contrast, we will suggest that what is missing in the debate is a set of organizing principles for a more contemporary alternative to the New Public Management. We would like to suggest that the New Public Management should be contrasted with what we will term the New Public Service, a set of ideas about the role of public administration in the governance system that places public service, democratic governance, and civic engagement at the center.

The Study of Innovation

Chapter 3: The Study of Innovation



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State of the Art and Framework for Analysis

Patria de Lancer Julnes

Government and nonprofit organizations currently operate in a turbulent environment, with limited resources and suspicion about government involvement on the one hand, and robust demand for services, widespread management reforms, and rapid technological advances on the other. And yet, the responses of these organizations to such environmental pressures is expected to be directly tied to performance improvement (Subramanian & Nilakanta, 1996; Pärna & von Tunzelmann, 2007), whether it be measured in terms of efficiency, effectiveness, or access to services, through some sort of innovation.


This expectation of innovation is not without its critics, with some contending this has led to a “cult around innovation” where its appropriateness can’t be questioned (Khan & Joseph, 2013, p. 21). Others have argued that innovation in government and nonprofit sectors seems to follow a normative bent in that, invariably, innovation tends to be seen as a good thing, but in reality not all innovations are good as they may also have unintended negative consequences (Osborne & Brown, 2013). Similarly, in his now classical volume on innovation, Everett Rogers (1995) warned about challenges of innovation. Although would-be innovators assume that the consequences of the innovation are known, desirable, and directly observable, Rogers said that, oftentimes, the opposite is true.

A concrete example comes to mind. The development of wind power to produce energy has environmentalists up in arms. Though wind is considered a cheap and clean source of alternative energy, leveraging this requires huge wind turbines. In the past 10 years, not only have wind farms proliferated, but also wind turbines have gotten bigger to increase their efficiency. An unintended consequence of this has been a high mortality rate in birds getting caught in the blades. Thus, the larger the turbine the more birds will get caught and die, which will lead to an increase in the rate of bird mortality and associated negative consequences for the environment.

In the organizational context Seelos and Mair (2012) suggest that the simplistic awareness of consequences of innovation leads organizations to see innovations as quick fixes for performance at the expense of more developmental organizational change. These are valid concerns that should be part of the discussion when considering an innovation, particularly given that pressures to innovate seem unrelenting. At the same time, we must acknowledge that innovation can also lead to indirect, unknown, but desirable consequences. As an example of both perils and promise, pressures to innovate help to explain the growing number of private firms and nonprofits providing many of the services that government used to provide directly before the push for privatization and contracting out (innovations in and of themselves) in the 1980s. This has led to the hollowing out of government at all levels as it divests itself from service provision in favor of working through nonprofits and for-profit partners to reduce cost. Such divestiture has also had a positive impact in that nonprofits have become not only important players in service delivery but also important contributors to the economy.

According to the National Center for Charitable Statistics, in the U.S. in 2012, nonprofit organizations numbered over 1.4 million and contributed 5.5 percent of the nation’s GDP. The previous year they reported nearly \$1.6 trillion in revenues and

\$1.5 trillion in expenses. Though they face challenges, they have also been recognized as inherently innovative entities and as leaders in finding innovative ways to address social issues (Dover & Lawrence, 2012). For its part, though not often acknowledged, government has continued to be an engine for promoting innovation in the private sector and an innovator in its own right (see, for example, Mazzucato’s *The Entrepreneurial State* [2013] and Eggers and Singh’s *The Public Innovator’s Playbook* [2009]).



Government entities have ceased to be the sole actors in charge of defining problems, finding solutions, and delivering services, giving rise to a new form of governing through collaborative governance.

Studying Innovation in the Public and Nonprofit Sectors

The body of knowledge about innovation in the public sector continues to grow, but at a slower pace than in the private sector. Moreover, whereas our knowledge regarding nonprofits is also developing quite gradually, the literature on innovation in government and the nonprofit sectors still lacks a sufficient pool of case examples analyzed so as to help us develop a better understanding of adoption and implementation of innovation and help improve practice and theory.

In this chapter we review the literature on innovation and suggest an overarching framework to guide a meta-synthesis of the case studies of innovation in government and nonprofit organizations in the U.S. and Europe presented in the chapters ahead. Given the variety of the cases included, the goal of the analysis, as suggested by the meta-synthesis approach, is pragmatic. It is not meant to establish certainty but rather to help us further our understanding and explanations by identifying the relevance of some factors and establishing their influence in one or more of the cases.

In what follows, we first wrestle with how to define and categorize innovation. The struggle stems from the realization that the study of innovation is littered with definitions and classification schemes. We also discuss innovation as a process with stages and suggest that there is a need to systematically address the factors that affect each of its stages. We argue that conceptualizing innovation as a process provides a usable framework for analysis. Finally, we discuss the different factors that have been found to influence the process as well as one of the most important trends in innovation—collaboration.


Defining and Categorizing Innovation

There are many definitions of innovation. In fact, Stephen Osborne (1998, pp 22–24) found 23 definitions, which may be explained by Pollit's (2011) contention that rather than being a concrete concept, innovation is a label given to a concept; as such, "even well-informed people can have quite strong disagreements as to whether a particular development should or should not be 'awarded' this label" (p. 35). Nevertheless, Osborne came to the conclusion that a proper definition of innovation encompasses four characteristics: 1) newness—relative to the specific organization; 2) relationship to invention—related, but innovation being more about the diffusion of invention; both process and outcome—innovation is a process and a product of the process; and change or discontinuity—innovation can't be linear or derivative; it must change the existing paradigm of how things are done or configured.

We settled on Knight's (1967, p. 478) definition of innovation ("change which is new to the organization and to the relevant environment") because it provides the most promise in guiding inquiry. Knight's definition encompasses the concepts of newness and change described by Osborne (1998) and does not conflate invention and innovation (or inventing and innovating). What this definition lacks is an explicit statement about innovation being a process, as suggested by Osborne. However, this is not necessarily a shortcoming because the need for innovation to be conceptualized as a "process" is much more relevant to the study of how organizations innovate than to how the concept of innovation is defined.

Innovating: A Process of Adoption and Implementation

In the private sector, the concept of innovation relates to both the process of bringing ideas of products themselves and the process of bringing new products or ideas into use (Rahim & Wolfe, 2000, p. 248). Similarly in the public and nonprofit sectors, Osborne (1998) has contended that when it comes to studying innovation, it is important to clarify whether we are discussing innovation as process of transformation or change, or as a result of the process. Hence, having defined the concept of innovation, we now turn our



attention to innovation as a process of change—the act of innovating.

In general, there is agreement in the literature that innovating entails a process that leads to change (Walker, Avellaneda, & Berry, 2011; de Lancer Julnes 2009; Rogers, 1995). By implication, this “process” has stages or steps and includes: idea generation and discovery, evaluation and selection, acceptance, routinization, diffusion or implementation, confirmation, and reinforcement (Rogers, 1995; Eggers & Singh, 2009; Schneider, 2007; Piening, 2011). In spite of the apparent acceptance of the notion that the process of innovation is composed of several stages, critics contend that studies of innovations have tended to conceptualize the process as monolithic (Piening, 2011; Walker, Avellaneda, & Berry, 2011, Tornatzky & Klein, 1982), often poorly represented as a single concept such as “adoption” or “diffusion” of innovation. This has been characterized as “too narrow and ambiguous” (Schneider, 2007, p. 599) and not very useful in predicting outcomes or providing insights on the levers that would-be innovators could reasonably expect to use to support innovation.

There are some studies, however, that have systematically analyzed the stages of the process. For example, in the context of the introduction of performance measurement systems de Lancer Julnes and Holzer (2001) argued that when it comes to change and innovation, there are at least two stages: adoption and implementation. Adoption means that when organizations develop (adopt) a performance measurement system, they have built a capacity to act. Such capacity to act represents innovation initiation, which entails the identification of problems, the matching of solutions to the problem, and the attainment of resources (Damanpour, 1991; Rogers, 1995). In their study, de Lancer Julnes and Holzer (2001) found that adoption of performance measurement is positively influenced by internal and external organizational factors. More specifically, adoption is positively influenced by laws and regulations, technical knowledge, management and non-management employee engagement, resources, goal orientation, and internal requirements.

However, this capacity to act is not sufficient to cause any observable change in the organization and, thus, the process may end without coming to full fruition. Indeed, “public organizations may innovate in search of legitimacy and not fully adopt an innovation, implementation has to occur to ensure improvements are forthcoming” (Walker, Avellaneda, & Berry, 2011, p. 96). For de Lancer Julnes and Holzer (2001) implementation of performance measurement systems refers to knowledge converted into action. This conceptualization is consistent with the recognition by Rogers (1995) and others (e.g., Damanpour & Schneider, 2009; Wolfe, 1994; Piening 2011) that implementation occurs when an innovation is actually being used.

In particular, implementation for Roger (1995) refers to adapting the solution, diffusing the solution, and finally routinizing the solution. Routinization is consistent with the notion of institutionalization of the innovation. At the point of institutionalization or maturation the innovation has become part of what the organization consciously or unconsciously does and, thus, ceases to be an innovation per se (de Lancer Julnes, 2009). Implementation of innovation, which is also understood by some as diffusion within the organization (e.g., Akenroye, 2012), is supported by factors that include external political pressures and citizen demands, risk-taking, and openness to change, as well as availability of resources and technical knowledge (de Lancer Julnes & Holzer, 2001).

Given the above, it is clear that a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics that ensue when organizations try to innovate requires that we systematically analyze each of the stages of the process of innovation. This disaggregation of the stages will prove productive as it will help to clarify our understanding of the levers that can be managed at different points in the process as well as better predict the outcome of innovation efforts (de Lancer Julnes & Holzer, 2001, Piening, 2011; Rogers, 1995). In particular, we argue for more studies that specifically focus on each of the two most easily discernible stages of the process—adoption and implementation.



Types of Innovation

Just as there is a wide array of definitions of innovation, there is a similar array of how different kinds of innovations have been classified. These different classifications are interrelated, ambiguous at times, and even confusing (Partanen, Chetty, & Rajala, 2014). To compound the issue further, several typologies were originally developed in the context of research on innovations in manufacturing and later adapted to public service organizations.

To illustrate, Osborne (1998) offers an alternative for explaining types of innovations in nonprofit and public organizations that is based on a typology developed by Abernathy, Clark, and Kantrow (1983). Abernathy et al.'s typology was originally developed to explain the influence of technical change on an industry through a linkage between production systems and markets in an X-Y axis relationship—low and high impact on productive systems, low and high impact on market—and tied to the industry life-cycle. This was dubbed by Abernathy et al. (1983) as “innovation’s ‘transilience’” or the impact that an innovation has on the production system and its subsequent effect on the market (p.110). Transilience is about the change that is required in existing organizational competencies and pre-existing commitments.


Acknowledging that innovation is part of organizational change and distinct from incremental developments, but seeking to make the model by Abernathy et al. fit the public and nonprofit setting, Osborne (1998) changed the linkage to reflect a relationship between product/service and clients served also in an X-Y axis framework: existing and new services, existing and new clients. Though this is a useful way to think about innovation types, this adaptation does not account for the concept of transilience.

The literature also covers other classifications, but in general four specific types of innovations are discussed: technological, service, administrative, and ancillary innovations (Schneider, 2007; Walker, 2007; Damanpour, 1987; Borins, 2014). A fifth type, governance innovations, has also been emerging in the literature (see for example, Moore & Hartley, 2008).

We suggest here a “typology of typology” to describe the types of innovations in terms of two general themes that seem to underlie these different classifications: 1) impact on the organization; and 2) nature of the innovation. We believe that this approach is much more productive and flexible, and yields a conceptual basis for exploring innovations. For example, this conceptualization can help in answering the research question of under what conditions different types of innovations are adapted and implemented. In particular, we expect that different types of innovations have different attributes that interact differently with their environment and will elicit different organizational responses to the process of innovation (Damanpour, 1987; Walker, Avellaneda, & Berry, 2011). Moreover, we could focus the research on the organizational responses that are deployed based on the perceived impact of the innovation on the organization's routine.

A. Typology based on Impact of Innovations on the organization

The adaptation of typologies originally devised to understand the effect of technical change in manufacturing to the study of innovations in government and nonprofits has been instructive, but the transfer has not been seamless. Moreover, the typology developed by Abernathy et al. (1983) to understand how, and by how much, technological innovations in the automotive manufacturing industry affected the industry's structure, competitive advantage along product and process differentiation, and competencies has been limited to a focus on the newness of the process or products/services adopted and implemented. Abernathy et al. (1983), and earlier Abernathy and Utterback (1978) and Abernathy and Townsend (1975) sought to provide suggestions to help production firms overcome the natural progression toward maturity and eventual extinction. Current adaptations do not seem to address the impact of innovation on the organization and how this impact, perceived or real, elicits different responses. The impact of an innovation can be profound, touching the very core of the organization and charting its future.



In this section we discuss the four most common types of innovations that in our estimation appear to address the concept of transilience. These are radical, incremental, architectural, and modular (Dewar & Dutton, 1986; Akenroye, 2012; Osborne & Brown, 2013). We begin the discussion with the first two, radical and incremental, which represent the two extremes of a continuum. This continuum, depicted in Figure 2.1, suggests the amount of change and adaptation that the particular innovation requires the organization to undergo. The discussion covers the origins of these four types of innovations and provides examples that illustrate their applicability. Note that the meaning of “architectural” innovation here is not the same as used in Abernathy et al. (1983).

Radical

One of the easiest types of innovations to describe, but not often witnessed, is radical innovation (also known as total innovation [Osborne, 1998] and architectural innovation [Abernathy et al. 1983]). Such innovation constitutes a complete departure from past practice; a disruption to current practice. When radical innovations occur during the later stages in the life-cycle of an organization or industry, they fundamentally change or replace the old system (Abernathy et al., 1983). If they occur in the early stages of the industry life-cycle, they create entirely new processes, products and services, and set the stage for future changes (Akenroye, 2012; Osborne, 1998; Osborne & Brown, 2013; Lynn 2013; Dewar & Dutton, 1986; Abernathy et al., 1983). This description closely resembles how Lynn (1997) has described the concept of innovation itself.

With such a profound impact on the organization and given organizations’ tendencies to path dependency, the implementation of a radical innovation can be expected to elicit responses that disrupt implementation (Piening, 2011). Its implementation requires new organizational capabilities as well as skills and other competencies and so yields winners and losers (de Lancer Julnes, 2009; Henderson & Clark, 1990).

Incremental

Although it may seem counterintuitive to categorize incremental changes as a type of innovation, in the early literature this distinction was made in terms of the amount of new knowledge that is contained in a particular technological innovation (Dewar & Dutton, 1986). That is, this was based on how much went into developing the innovation. Furthermore, Dewar and Dutton argued that in reality technological innovations fall along a continuum of new knowledge where the “middle values [between radical and incremental] are difficult to decipher” (p. 423).

The incremental innovation (also known as developmental [Osborne, 1998] and regular [Abernathy et al., 1983]) consists of minor changes to existing processes or changes that do not significantly depart from current practice (Akenroye, 2012; Osborne & Brown, 2013; Dewar & Dutton, 1986). In the more general context, incremental innovations occur within the existing organizational framework and address a specific concern such as skills, processes, competencies, or products and services (Osborne & Brown, 2013). The changes represent a refinement of current processes and services and are not in the least dramatic; they are introduced in small doses. However, over time such incremental changes may add up to significant changes.

At times, when the organizational climate is delicate or complex, introducing incremental innovations may be the most promising strategy for would-be innovators to eventually achieve radical change (Broom & Jennings, 2008). These considerations were first articulated by Lindblom (1959), who explained that in their effort to reduce conflict, decision-makers often “muddle through” and introduce changes to policies by making changes only at the margins. Though some have criticized this view, others have concurred that this is exactly what happens due to the political reality of organizations (Broom & Jennings, 2008).



Architectural

As early as the 1980s, innovations scholars were musing about the myriad terms and interpretations used to classify innovations and how this causes confusion (Dewar & Dutton, 1986). A cursory review of the current literature may also lead to confusion about the types of innovations that fall along the middle of the spectrum in Figure 2.1. Part of the problem is that different authors use the same terms to refer to different types of innovation. For example, Osborne and Brown (2013) suggest a third type of innovation—architectural. This is not the same as the architectural (radical) innovation in Abernathy et al.'s (1983) original typology. This original typology was further developed by Henderson and Clark (1990) to overcome the limitations of traditional dichotomous typology, which differentiated types as either radical or incremental, when explaining the consequences of innovation on the firm.

At first glance the explanation provided by Osborne and Brown of what constitutes an architectural innovation may not be clear. Part of the reason is that the authors are trying to adapt this type to the context of public sector organizations. They state, citing Henderson and Clark (1990), that an architectural innovation “results in changes to both organizational skills and competencies and to the market/needs that an innovation is addressing—but within the existing production paradigm” (p. 5). In their article, Henderson and Clark (1990) explain that architectural innovations relate to the knowledge that is required to develop a product and its impact (transilience) on organizational capabilities. More specifically, in defining architectural innovations as “innovations that change the way in which the components of a product are linked together, while leaving the core design concepts untouched” (p. 10), the author's goal was to explain why architectural change might decrease the capabilities of some firms while helping others thrive. The gradual miniaturization of computers is an example of such innovation as their basic components continue to be pretty much the same but the parts have been reconfigured to change how they work together.

Relevant to our discussion here, Henderson and Clark's conceptualization is similar to Abernathy et al.'s “revolutionary phase” of innovation transilience. Even though the changes do not necessarily make the established knowledge obsolete, they are disruptive, nonetheless, to the production system while reinforcing the market linkages (Abernathy et al., 1983). This phase is clearly both part incremental and part radical.


Modular

A fourth type of innovation along the knowledge spectrum between incremental and radical is “modular innovation” (Henderson & Clark, 1990). This type of innovation is equivalent to the “niche creation phase” in Abernathy et al.'s scheme. It is also representative of Osborne's (1998) adaptation, which he labeled “expansionary” innovation.

Modular innovations constitute the repackaging or change in the design of a particular technology or product to reach new markets. The private firm improves its market penetration by making product changes that are more attractive to a subset of the market. In a sense, these kinds of innovations would be positioned closer to the incremental end of the spectrum. In the context of a government or nonprofit organization these may encompass the adaptation of a service to reach new or expanded target populations.

Transilience in Context

The extent to which a new idea or technological change can be categorized as radical, incremental, architectural, or modular depends not only on the transilience of the innovation itself but also on the



organizational context in which it is adopted and implemented. For example, Laurence Lynn has offered CompStat as an illustration of a radical innovation. CompStat was originally developed to fight crime in police precincts in New York. It completely changed the way police precincts operated. One could argue, however, that CompStat led to an architectural innovation when then-Mayor of Baltimore Martin O'Malley adapted the innovation to the management of the performance of certain city services and named it CitiStat. The core design concepts didn't change, an attribute of architectural innovation. At the same time, one could also argue that the mayor "repack- aged" the "Stat" concept to make it adaptable to city (and later state) performance management efforts (StateStat), and thus, could be classified as a modular innovation.

However, for the City of Baltimore, CitiStat was a radical departure from the usual way of handling the performance of the City on key areas of interest to decision-makers and citizens. CitiStat's transience was monumental because it fundamentally changed the management structure and practice of city hall, and the culture competencies that were required to implement this innovation. It also changed the way citizens became engaged with government, as they also became partners in performance improvement. Readers may come to the conclusion that to some extent types of innovations (incremental, modular, architectural, radical) are in fact perceived attributes of innovations. We will return to this point later in the chapter.

Typology based on the Nature of the Innovation


In this category we differentiate types of innovations in government and nonprofit based on the kinds of efforts they entail. In the context of private fi Damanpour et al. (1989) introduced two broad categories of types of innovations, which in our judgment are still relevant and encompass a large number of the innovations that are adopted and implemented in government and nonprofit organizations—1) administrative and 2) techno- logical innovations. Though presented as two distinct types, there isn't always a clear distinction because innovations tend to be hybrid, one type may need the other to work, and over time they may blend together to achieve the desired outcomes (Damanpour et al., 1989; Piening, 2011; Walker, 2007). Two related types are discussed below in addition to administrative and technological innovations—service and ancillary innovations.

Administrative Innovations

The concept of administrative innovation (also known as process innovation) refers to innovation that deals with the business of managing the organization and affect, and is affected by the organizational culture, its environment and its members (Damanpour et al., 1989; Walker et al., 2011). These innovations may change the patterns of communi- cation and relationships among members of the organization, the organization's structure and administrative processes (Damanpour et al., 1989; Damanpour, 1987; Walker, 2007). One example of an administrative innovation is the introduction of performance-based management (PBM). Introducing PBM mobilizes supporters and detractors and changes organizational practices as well as the expectations and outlook of its members. The adoption and implementation of a new administrative process is also an example of an administrative innovation. It changes activities, procedures, and rules that staff are accustomed to and, therefore, may have an impact on interactions among members and clients.

Technological Innovations

Technological or technical innovations refer to basic tools, equipment, techniques, and systems that change the way an organization delivers its services or converts raw materials into products and services (Damanpour, 1987; Damanpour et al., 1989; Walker et al., 2011). Technological innovations tend to affect the work processes and activities of an organization, are client driven, and may have a particular market focus (Jaskyte, 2011; Pärna & von Tunzelmann, 2007). Interestingly, Damanpour (1987), describes techno-



logical innovations as the result of the application of the basic tools, equipment, systems and techniques. That is, a technological innovation occurs when the tools are used to provide a service or product. Perhaps the most prominent tools of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that have fundamentally changed service delivery are the computer and the subsequent invention of the Internet. In a 2008 study Franzel asked government professionals to identify the three most important urban innovations used by major city governments out of a list of 22 administrative, technological, and policy specific innovations. The top three responses of the 160 who responded (472 attempted; response rate 34 percent) were all based on the Internet. They included collecting and providing access to geographic information (via Geographic Information Systems; GIS), providing a single point of contact through a centralized city web portal, and providing online electronic transactions.

Though discussed as separate types of innovations, the administrative and technological innovations complement each other. In their study of libraries, Damanpour et al. (1989) found that over time administrative innovations lead to technical innovations in high performing libraries. The reason was that these libraries tended to introduce administrative innovations that prepared them for future technical innovations. Likewise, an organization that introduces PBM will not only change its internal social structure, but, because of the data requirements of such systems, it also will need to adopt an information system that can support this administrative innovation.

Service Innovations

Service innovations are those related to the product or service delivered. Whereas administrative and technical innovations may lead to new products or services delivered, scholars have argued for separating service innovation from these two other types of innovations (Gallouj & Djellal, 2010). Keeping service innovation as a separate type may enhance our ability to capture the nuances involved in adopting and implementing a service or product innovation.

An administrative innovation could be a precursor to a service or product innovation in the same way that it is often a precursor to technical innovations. But this relationship doesn't always work this way. A service innovation may create the need for an administrative innovation to facilitate the delivery of the new service (Walker, 2007). Recognizing that innovations often require simultaneous changes, scholars have argued for a multi-dimensional approach to classifying innovations in service organizations (Miles, 2013). According to Miles (2013), there are six components of service innovations:


New service concept: the value created by the service provider (or coproduced with the customer). May entail a new way of solving a customer's problem or meeting a customer's need, perhaps by combining existing service elements in a new configuration.

New customer interaction: focuses on innovation in the interaction process between the provider and the customer, where the client may be a source of innovative ideas, coproducing innovation as well as the service.

New value systems (chains and clusters): entails new sets of business partners involved in jointly coproducing a service (and often a new service). This service innovation relates to the concept of open innovations in that services are developed through platforms and networks of businesses.

New revenue models: activity includes a shift to charging a fee for a service as a new revenue model.

Personnel, organizational, and cultural elements of a new delivery system: involve alignment of management and organization so as to enable service workers to perform new jobs, and to develop and offer innovative services. 'Soft' elements of the service delivery system can allow fi to differentiate themselves from the competition and may require new organizational structures and team skills, for



example, and can be a focus for innovation as well as a necessary complement for innovations that are centered on the other dimensions.

Technological elements of a new service delivery system: application of new technology (predominantly, but not exclusively, IT) to allow for improved production and use of services by allowing for new interfaces and ways of delivering services or service elements. (pp. 81–82)

Some of these components rest on service innovations that emerge from a relationship of coproduction or co-creation with the intended service recipients. This relationship is one of the key foundations of “service-dominant management” that seeks to overcome the limitations of traditional manufacturing-based theories in their applicability to service-focused organizations (Osborne, 2013). According to Osborne (2013), the nature of this relationship with the citizen-customer has profound implications for the process of innovation in organizations providing services and cannot be accounted for with traditional theories of innovation.

Ancillary Innovations

A related type of innovation often discussed in the literature is ancillary innovation. This is essentially an extension of a service innovation in that ancillary innovation encompasses a service innovation that depends on the participation of customers, other providers, or public agencies to come to fruition (Damanpour, 1987; Walker et al., 2011). An example of ancillary innovation is a high school entering into a partnership with a local university to mentor students at risk of dropping out.

Ancillary innovations are boundary-spanning in that the organization goes outside of its boundaries to link with partners that can help it address a particular need. As a result, the organization is no longer in control of the outcomes because its performance also depends on the performance of other partners and the intensity with which they engage in the effort. Due to this apparent loss of control one may think that organizations will tend to avoid entering in such arrangements. However, as will be illustrated by the majority of the case studies included in this book, more often than not public and nonprofit organizations are drawn to collaborate with others in order to improve their innovative capacity and program outcomes.


Typologies in Perspective

The amount of transience (change or impact), an innovation has on the organization can be considered a primary attribute. This implies that whereas an innovation may be classified by its nature (e.g., technical or service), it will also belong somewhere along the continuum between radical and incremental innovations and this will have a strong influence on the process of adopting and implementing the innovation. In addition, the innovation may exhibit secondary attributes that may also interact and affect the process. Therefore, rather than seeing the typologies presented here as mutually exclusive, they should be seen as complementary. Each represents a particular aspect of the factors involved in innovating.

Determinants of Innovation

Whereas critics contend that the literature on innovation is marred by problems of conceptualization, the vast number of studies on innovation (approximately 10,000 between 1990 and 2013, according to a survey of journal articles and books conducted by De Vries, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014) has yielded useful information on the factors that appear to inhibit or support innovation in organizations. Furthermore, in the last two decades there have also been a sizable number of studies devoted to the factors that affect the process of innovation in the public sector and more recently also a focus on innovation in the nonprofit sectors.

Collectively the studies cited by De Vries et al. (2014), though with contradicting results at times, tell us that there are both organizational and individual characteristics that influence the process of innovation both positively and negatively. They also suggest that context matters and that these different influences



may interact to facilitate or hinder innovation. As discussed earlier, the process of innovation is believed to have at least two stages: adoption and implementation (as defined by de Lancer Julnes & Holzer, 2001). Each of the stages of the process is influenced by a number of factors both shared and distinct and exposes the organization to different levels of risk, particularly at the implementation stage due to the outward nature of implementation (de Lancer Julnes, 2009). In reviewing the literature, Osborne (1998) culled three major groups of factors based on the factors' ability to define the innovative capacity of organizations: a) formal structure (how it is organized), b) internal environment (culture), and c) external environment (competition or collaboration, and strategic response of the organization to its environment). Two additional factors have also been identified in the literature as important determinants: individual characteristics (e.g., Kaplan, 2003) and attributes of the innovation (e.g., Rogers, 1995). These are discussed below.


Organizational and Individual Factors

In this category we discuss formal structure, culture, and characteristics of leaders and others in the organization. The formal structure relates to the extent to which an organization exhibits flexibility and ability to adapt to change in its environment. In analyzing the adaptability of British firms, Burns and Stalker (1961) concluded that organizations can be categorized as fitting in one of two extremes; organic and mechanistic. Organic organizations tend to have a nimble organizational structure, where the hierarchy is determined by expertise and communication is lateral rather than vertical. In contrast, mechanistic organizations tend to have high degrees of formalization (rule-bound process), specialization, and centralization. Mechanistic organizations are expected to work well in predictable environments, whereas organic organizations are expected to work well in turbulent environments.

Studies of innovation often support the expectation that organic organizations provide an environment more conducive to innovation than mechanistic organizations. But there are exceptions. For example, in a meta-analysis of innovation studies Damanpour (1991) found that having vertical differentiation has a positive impact on administrative innovations. Likewise, in a study of innovations in English local government Walker (2007) found mixed results for both organic and mechanistic structures. Both of the studies also suggested that whereas the structure of the organization can sometimes be a good predictor of innovation, context, including the type of innovation, might moderate the effect of organizational characteristics. Another factor that changes the context is the size of the organization. Walker (2006) has argued that larger organizations, which tend to be more formalistic and complex because of their sheer size, may actually offer an advantage for innovation. They are more likely to have "slack" resources including expertise and skills that can be leveraged to support innovation.

The organizational structure also relates to culture, the "unseen force that provides identity, meaning, direction, and basis for action" (Denhardt & Denhardt, p. 113). Organizational culture is expressed in a number of ways including patterns of communication, task complexity, leadership, degree of risk aversion, openness to learning and change, availability of rewards for taking risks, and supportive and focused organizational strategy (De Vries et al., 2014; de Lancer Julnes, 2009; Pärna & von Tunzelmann, 2007; McDonald, 2007; Kaplan, 2003; Osborne, 1998). The literature suggests that organizations with a culture that supports open communication and that have less task complexity have a greater capacity to innovate. Furthermore, environments where employees are encouraged and rewarded for risk-taking and where there is an openness to change and learning as well as an organizational strategy that's mission and goal oriented appear to have a greater innovative capacity to adopt and implement innovations (de Lancer Julnes, 2009).

Culture is greatly influenced by those in leadership positions in the organization and their leadership style can be instrumental for the success of the process of innovation (De Vries et al., 2014; Ansell & Gash, 2008). Kaplan (2003, p. 11) observed that in nonprofit organizations with directors "who emphasize the



broader mission of the nonprofit and service to its community, are professionally oriented and open to change, and engage in activities that contribute to program planning” innovation tends to be more successful. He noted similar effects in those nonprofits with board members who are independently minded and supportive of change efforts of agency directors. Moreover, entrepreneurial orientation of key staff members and directors of nonprofit organizations also is expected to have a positive impact on innovation (Beekman, Steiner, & Wasserman, 2012).

These leadership traits are also important in government, where observers note that innovation flourishes in government agencies with leaders who value initiative, open communication, and input from all levels of the organization (Donahue, 2008). Furthermore, leaders who exhibit characteristics such as risk-taking, openness to trying new approaches, and in general, who challenge the status quo and commit to supporting innovation (Jaskyte, 2004) help cultivate a culture that allows for collaborative innovative practices.

External environment


Organizations are open systems; as such, organizations’ capacities are also subject to the influence of their external environment. For example, they respond to external pressures such as demands for services from the public and to media attention (Altshuler, 1997; Walker et al., 2011; De Vries, 2014).

In analyzing the external forces that influence innovation capacity in the private sector, studies have tended to focus on the competitive environment and its impact on the innovation process (Osborne, 1998). The goal of the firms in the private sector is to increase their profit and thus, in highly competitive environments, it behooves the firm to stay ahead of the game. In contrast, in the public and nonprofit sectors, one of the most important factors in building innovative capacity and facilitating the process of innovation is collaboration (Sørensen & Torfing, 2012). Because of the apparent central role that collaboration plays in innovation, we have devoted a section to collaboration and mention it here to point to its importance as an external organization environment factor.

Yet, the existence of collaboration does not deny that public entities also compete to avoid being disadvantaged. As argued by Berry and Berry (1990) in their study of states’ adoption of innovations, states feel pressure to emulate nearby states’ adoption of popular policy innovations. Moreover, an increase in the number of alternative providers also creates competition for scarce resources among governments and nonprofits (Walker et al., 2011). However, competition can also become a source of strength. As organizations compete they become part of networks, which helps build capacity and facilitate innovation because of the transfer of information that occurs among network participants (Berry & Berry, 1990; De Vries et al., 2014). The same is true for participation in professional networks (e.g., see Walker et al. 2011; de Lancer Julnes & Holzer, 2001; Damanpour, 1991).

Other factors such as laws and regulations are often seen as obstacles to innovations (Borins, 2002a). However, the findings of Walker et al. (2011), de Lancer Julnes and Holzer (2001), and Rogers-Dillon (1999), among others, counter this assertion and call for a more nuanced analysis of the impact of laws and regulations. Specifically, these studies suggest that when we disaggregate the process of innovation we may find positive effects in one of the stages of innovation and no effects or even negative effects in the other. In addition, some researchers suggests that laws and regulations may interact with the type of innovation introduced (e.g, administrative, technological, etc.) and this produces variation in the significance of the effect of these variables when we also take into account the level of innovation capacity of the organization (Walker et al., 2011).

Earlier we alluded to the notion that an innovation placement on the transience continuum presented in Figure 2.1 can be considered an attribute that exerts influence in the process of innovation. Rogers (1995) suggested other attributes that may influence the rate of adoption of innovation. These include the



perceptions of relative advantage over other alternatives; compatibility with existing values and norms; extent of triability (can it be tested on a small scale?); observability of results by others; and degree of complexity. Thus, the more the first four attributes are perceived in the intended innovation, the faster the rate of adoption. Conversely, the more complex an innovation is perceived to be, the lower the rate of adoption.

Others have also suggested the inclusion of cost and ideological alignment with reform movements such as New Public Management or Reinventing Government as attributes that also affect the adoption of innovation (Downs & Mohr, 1976; Schneider, 2007). Nevertheless, these conceptualizations of attributes have proven inconclusive at best, in their ability to explain innovation in the public and nonprofit sectors.

Collaboration and Innovation

Collaborative innovation seems to be the norm rather than the exception. In his most recent book on the Harvard Kennedy School awards program for public sector innovations

Sandford Borins (2014) noted that the frequency of collaboration among the 2010 applicants and semifinalists was “broad-based and widespread” (p. 181) and had substantially increased when compared to those in 1990. Though the concept of collaborative arrangements to facilitate innovative solutions to wicked problems is not new (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006; Huxham, 2000), the study of collaboration in the context of innovation in organizations has only recently started to receive attention (Sørensen & Torfing, 2012).


A collaborative strategy consists of engaging a number of actors from across and within levels of government and private and nonprofit organizations to understand and address problems and to encourage and support innovative thinking (Borins, 2014; Hartley, Sørensen, & Torfing, 2013; Grudinschi, Kaljunen, Hokkanen, Hallikas, Sintonen, & Puustinen, 2013; Hilgers & Ihl, 2010). The resulting collaborative solution is referred to in a number of ways including partnerships, alliances, networks, and joined-up programs (as they are known in the U.K.). These cross-sector collaborations are considered innovations in their own right.

This desire to address intractable problems using collaborative arrangements is often justified by a number of reasons. According to Huxham (2000) these tend to range from the moralistic (moral imperative), to the political (good practice), to the financial (financial imperative), to the ideological (participation and empowerment) (p. 340). Because of this variety, and the difference in outcomes that they suggest, Huxham further argues that it is important for actors to understand upfront what the conceptions of collaboration are so as to avoid being disappointed with the results. This suggests a great deal of complexity in collaborative relationships that may lead to different and unexpected outcomes under different circumstances. Though collaboration tends to increase the capacity of organizations to address problems, this is not always the case. “Indeed, some are solved badly, and some solutions have created the problems they were meant to solve” (Bryson et al., 2006, p. 44).

Factors That Influence Collaboration

A meta-analysis of cases of collaborative governance conducted by Ansell and Gash (2008, p. 543) suggests a number of factors that may either lead to or inhibit successful collaboration. These include history of cooperation or conflict, incentives for stakeholder participation, leadership, power, resources imbalance, institutional design, face-to-face communication, trust building, and commitment and shared understanding.

Other inhibitors and enablers include the extent to which those who are members of the collaboration can be considered an organization; lack of clarity as to who the members are; the governance structures of the collaboration; pluralism—interconnection of multiple, but distinct partnerships; proliferation of new



initiatives and changes in government policy; and redefinition of old problems into broader conceptualization (Huxham, 2000; Bryson et al., 2006). Given the possible problems that these factors may present, as well as the difficulties that the process of adoption and implementation of innovation can encounter, how can we better ensure success? For some (Hartley, Sørensen, & Torfing, 2013; Grudinski et al., 2013; Ansell & Gash, 2012; Crosby & Bryson, 2010; Borins, 2002b; Lynn, 1997), part of the answer rests on leadership. In the end, argued Lynn, 1997 (p. 97), someone or a team needs to be in charge to “exploit the shocks” and make decisions about when and how to act. The question, then, is what kinds of leaders are required for collaboration to work?

According to Crosby and Bryson (2010, p. 212) for collaboration to work, there needs to be an “integrative” leader, someone who is able to bring “diverse groups and organizations together in semi-permanent ways, and typically across sector boundaries, to remedy complex public problems and achieve the common good.” These leaders are expected to act as both agents and media, and require different styles of leadership and roles to play depending on the “task, goal, and contexts” (Ansell & Gash, 2012, p. 3). These styles and roles include *steward*—establishes and protects the integrity of the process itself; *mediator*—helps to arbitrate and nurture relationships; and *catalyst*—helps to identify and obtain value-creating opportunities (Ansell & Gash, 2012, p. 6). In a similar fashion but with slightly different labels, Sørensen and Torfing (2012, p. 8) state that leaders need to combine the roles of convener, mediator, and catalyst.

Citizens and Collaboration


An important form of collaboration involves organizations partnering with citizens to find and implement innovative solutions to wicked problems. This collaboration often comes in the form of soliciting the input of citizens, coproduction, and citizen-engagement. In his study of award applicants Borins (2014) noted that collaborating with citizens through empowerment and the use of volunteers has been a constant feature of the award applicants. Analysis of earlier awards applicants conducted by Fung (2008) revealed that a significant number of them reached out to citizens to help increase public value.

Moreover, the winning government organizations used a number of approaches to seek citizen collaboration and work toward a common goal (Fung, 2008). These included: social cooperation, which helps to alter the behavior toward what public officials want; communication and understanding, making sure that officials know the population they serve and can communicate and relate to them; and civic mobilization for coproduction, where they expand the resources and share power.

The advent of computers and the Internet have helped facilitate citizen collaboration with government and nonprofits. For example, collaborative strategies with citizens often include open innovations, crowdsourcing, or commons-based peer production (Hilgers & Ihl, 2010; Benkler & Nissenbaum, 2006). These strategies take advantage of the public’s knowledge and available technology to create value (Eggers & Singh, 2009).

Conclusion

To conclude, we propose that an approach that builds on the notion of innovation as a process of change new to the organization (as suggested by Knight), holds the most promise in helping us understand the drivers and challenges of innovation in public and nonprofit organizations. It gives us the most flexible but comprehensive approach to the study of innovation in organizations. Moreover, the process view increases our analytical options and provides us a wider lens through which we can analyze innovation. Innovating conceptualized as a process of change acknowledges complexities and recognizes that at any point in the process there could be shocks, setbacks, and surprises (Poole, 2003). Also, whereas focusing on the nature of innovation (e.g., technological, administrative, service, ancillary) can be useful in organizing observations, reliance on such categorization alone can also be limiting.



With the idea of process of change as a starting point, we can then ask the question: How much change or “transilience” (Abernathy et al., 1983) is required of the organization for the innovation to work? As suggested in the foregoing discussion, the expectation is that different responses will be activated with different intensity depending on how much change is needed. Thus, refine our understanding of what these dynamics are and their effect can be valuable knowledge for would-be innovators.

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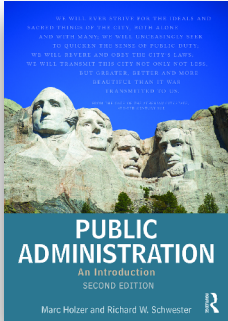
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Public Service and Popular Culture

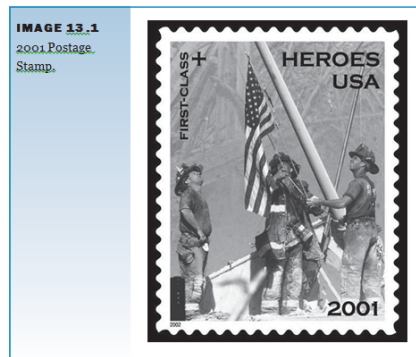
Chapter 4: Public Service and Popular Culture



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In this chapter, we will explore the idea of public service and the public servant. We will discuss some of the common generalizations about public servants' work ethics and images of them within society as portrayed in popular culture. We will also shed light on some actual public servants by exploring a few noteworthy cases. We will discuss efforts to attract youth into the public sector and highlight some of the current incentive programs that exist, as well as efforts to rectify the image of public service and initiatives that might be pursued to do so. Finally, we will provide some helpful resources for people interested in engaging with government, as well as professional networks that address issues of public concern.



Service to others is the payment you make for your space here on earth.

Mohammad Ali, former professional boxer.

PUBLIC SERVANTS

Public service embodies the ethical principles of the common good—service to others and social equity. Public service is important because the essential purposes of our society are carried out largely in the public sphere: public education, public health, justice and security, environmental protection, museums, universities, etc. Many organizations—for profit and non-profit—are government's partners in building our necessary infrastructure, as well as developing and applying our emerging technologies. A strong public service ethic is, then, a common thread that spans a wide spectrum of disciplines and sectors, ranging from government to the not-for-profit and for-profit sectors.

Public service attracts a special kind of individual (Holzer 1999; Pattakos 2004; Perry 1996). The calling to public service is at the heart of public administration (Frederickson 1997) and is based on a “duty . . . or an intense inner commitment to a cause that extends beyond the exigencies of the moment” (Gawthrop 1998, p. 74). Public servants are people who achieve internal satisfaction by making a contribution to a society (Houston 2006; Perry 1996) as opposed to a self-serving commitment to achieving personal goals. As such, monetary gain and other external rewards are often not primarily significant; instead, those who enter public service do so out of a desire to serve the public interest (Hart 1989). Theirs is a vocation that links them to “fellow workers and the larger community,” thereby making public service a transcendent act (Wolf and Bacher 1990, p. 178).

I can assure you, public service is a stimulating, proud and lively enterprise.

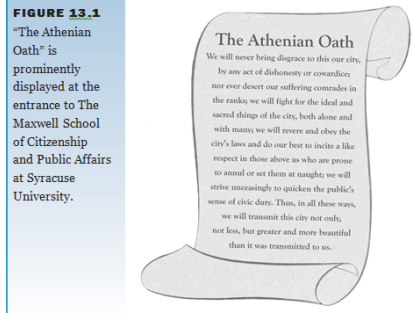
It is not just a way of life, it is a way to live fully.

- Lee H. Hamilton, former US congressman; vice chairman, 9/11 Commission.

The roots of public service can be traced back to the Athenian Oath, first sworn by citizens of ancient Athens to serve their fellow citizens. In an American context, James Madison expressed this sentiment in the Federalist Papers: “The public good, the real welfare of the great body of the people, is the supreme object to be pursued” (Madison 1788/1961, “Federalist #45”). The root of the common good stems from an acknowledged interconnectedness of individuals who rely on one another, providing the basis of community (Frederickson 1997; Gawthrop 1998; Hart 1989).

In the mid-nineteenth century, the French historian Alexis de Tocqueville was fascinated with the strong American co-operative spirit between the citizenry and the government. He wrote in *Democracy in America* (cited in Klein 1990):

In no country in the world do the citizens make such exertions for the common weal. I know of no people who have established schools so numerous, places of public worship better suited to the wants of the inhabitants, or roads kept in better repair.




Tocqueville was equally impressed with the willingness of citizens to build public improvements by voluntary association, “of the people, by the people, for the people” (cited in Ellis 1999).

As the embodiment of an ethic of service, increased volunteerism has been a goal of public policy since at least the 1960s, regardless of the political party in power (Brudney 1990). Most famously, President John F. Kennedy at his inauguration in 1961 stated, “Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country” (cited in Ellis 1999).

THE IMAGE OF THE PUBLIC SERVANT

Critics argue that bureaucracy is epitomized by the sufficiency of mediocrity, by the adage “don’t rock the boat,” and by a significant loss of independence. Popular culture has reinforced the contrast between the new public employee’s wide-eyed eagerness to serve—to make a difference—and the well entrenched bureaucrat who stereotypically over-emphasizes formality, rules, and regulations. Popular culture has also painted a proverbial picture of the public organization where individuals become stifled, losing all sense of independence, pride, and initiative. They seem no longer to care, but rather only to go through the motions, only to count down the years until retirement.

Government’s critics are equally concerned that the energies of workers and managers may be corrupted, not merely suppressed. Without the possibility of making a real difference or the incentive to solve problems of productivity and performance, they direct their energies toward personal promotion, playing office politics, discrediting fellow employees, and diverting resources. In W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan’s comedic opera *HMS Pinafore* (1878), musical lyrics imprinted negative bureaucratic images on the public consciousness. That message is embodied in the protagonist Sir Joseph Porter’s observation that he rose through a hierarchy from office boy to the post of First Lord of the Admiralty by merely “going along.” He explains that he identified so entirely and predictably with the Navy’s interests—regardless of whether truth or logic contradicted such interests—that he ended up in a position of command: “Stick close to your desks and never go to sea, and you all may be Rulers of the Queen’s Navee.”



Bureaucratic behavior is not harmless. Critics also argue that the unproductive forces of bureaucracy ultimately have a negative impact on the client. In many cases, bureaucracy has degenerated into a vehicle that is too impersonal and too insensitive for effective response to public demands. The clerk who interprets a rule with unnecessary narrowness and the official who mindlessly defers to the computer are examples of the unproductive nature of bureaucratic thinking. They are the symptoms of a mindset that creates more problems than it solves. Beginning with the earliest readers, the cartoonist's assault on bureaucracy has been incessant and overwhelming. Nationally syndicated cartoons reinforce a negative image of public service throughout the daily papers. In some instances, government's clients are not merely inconvenienced or discouraged. Some of the most depressing anti-client tales are those of the Czech existentialist Franz Kafka, as in *The Trial*, which he wrote between 1914 and 1915 (publ. 1925). Perhaps the most recognized critic of bureaucracy, as exemplified in the currency of the generally accepted adjective "Kafkaesque," Kafka suggests that the impersonal often shades into the unjust.

Movies serve as a more powerful vehicle than the stage, if only because the audience is much wider. For example, in the 1984 Ivan Reitman film *Ghostbusters*, which underscored the popular image of "bureaucrat as buffoon," an official of the Environmental Protection Administration (EPA) obnoxiously demands to inspect a storage facility for ghostly spirits. Turned away by ghostbuster Dr. Peter Venkman (played by Bill Murray) because he did not use the magic word "please," the EPA official returns with a court order. After being told that closing the ghost-holding office would allow the spirits to run amok, surely endangering the public, the EPA official blindly opts to follow rules and regulations, ordering that the facility be shut down. Even as his actions lead almost to disaster, the agitated bureaucrat still clings to the letter of the law. He is finally removed by the mayor, who opts for live, grateful voters over mindless procedures. The message is that bureaucrats can be unthinkingly and dangerously incompetent.

It is a grand mistake to think of being great without goodness and I pronounce it as certain that there was never a truly great man that was not at the same time truly virtuous.


- Benjamin Franklin, American statesman; ambassador; patriot.

The classroom, in particular, is often portrayed as suffering from the bumbling actions of educational bureaucrats. In the 1988 biopic *Stand and Deliver*, Jaime Escalante, a dedicated math teacher in an inner-city high school, overcomes the skepticism of

burned-out colleagues and the harassment of the disbelieving, bureaucratic Educational Testing Service. Fortunately, he prevails and his students succeed, but only due to his David-like efforts versus the bureaucratic Goliath.

The image of civil servants also suffers from guilt by association, from confusion with the misdeeds of political superiors. Although the public service in the United States is among the most honest in the world, the reputation of appointed civil servants has been diminished by the ineptitude and inefficiency of those elected to serve. The press features charges of misconduct under headlines such as "Local Official Indicted" or "Public Servant Accused." But the official in question is often an elected or appointed politician, not a civil servant. Such simple headlines taint the entire public service by association with their sometimes unethical political taskmasters.

A reinforcing problem is misapplication of the term "bureaucracy." In Boston, Massachusetts, for example, *The Globe* reported, "A Simple Park Is No Match for City Bureaucracy." Although years of delays in building a park were apparently blamed on the bureaucracy—implying career officials were negligent—a more careful reading reveals that an elected official, city councilor David Scondras, was the source of the delay. From Washington, DC, a story headlined "Bush Transforms an Emergency into a Bureaucracy" deals not with an agency action but an environmental policy decision emanating from the White House. Another Washington report, "How Bureaucrats Pad Their Pensions" focuses not on civil servants but on pension laws passed by



US Congress that served their own interests. And “Bureaucracy Stifles Biotechnology” argues that a major public organization was understaffed and underequipped, but it is not until well into the story that the reader sees that the source of the problems are attributable not to bureaucratic negligence but to budget-cutting priorities in the White House and in Congress.

Thus, as the media dutifully chronicle charges of misconduct against elected officials and politicians, they also unintentionally taint the character of career civil servants. Broad labels suggest that all individuals who publicly aspire to the calling of public service secretly aspire to private gain. The average reader is not likely to differentiate between elected and appointed public officials. Because corruption anywhere in government tarnishes the image of everyone in government, the reputation of civil servants is diminished by misidentification with less-than-ethical politicians, and public servants take a beating throughout the media. Seemingly without exception, artists and writers confirm a pessimistic view of bureaucracy’s impact on its clients and even its own employees. Our society has established a mistaken image of public servants as untrustworthy, inept, entangled in red tape, and incapable of applying the common sense possessed by the average American citizen. The popular view of the public bureaucracy is a weak system that produces profoundly negative behaviors—stifling, demoralizing, corrupting, impersonal, and unjust. Some of those complaints are valid and deserve attention. Government needs to be improved—as does every organization. One obstacle to improvement, however, is the ceaseless and unbalanced nature of the attack on public organizations. Journalists, writers, and artists have overworked and exploited that image. It would be naive to criticize the government’s critics for failing to seek evidence of excellent public-sector performance, but that evidence is extensive and available.

THE REAL PUBLIC SERVANT

The negative image of the public servant is likely to remain dominant, as it has such deep roots in our popular culture. Nevertheless, the truth about public servants is far from this negative depiction. Certainly, like any other field, public service has some employees that lack the appropriate motivations and skill sets, but many public servants are dedicated, innovative professionals dealing with a unique set of challenges and working in about 87,000 units of local government that deliver necessary and critical services.

For Census Bureau statistical purposes, a government is defined as an organized entity subject to public accountability, whose officials are popularly elected or are appointed by public officials, and which has sufficient discretion in the management of its affairs to distinguish it as separate from the administrative structure of any other government unit. The Census Bureau recognizes five basic types of local governments: counties, municipalities, townships, school districts, and special districts (US Census Bureau 2002).

The federal government represents only one unit of government, and the states another 50. Some 35,000 of units of government are on the local level—such as municipalities or townships. School districts, business districts, fire districts, water districts, and many other special purpose organizations comprise another 50,000+ government units. In total, these local governmental units employ about 14 million public servants. Therefore, the local level of government is a good starting point to highlight some of the real efforts taken by public servants to quash the familiar stereotypical depictions.



IMAGE 13.2
A worker at the National Cancer Institute (NCI), which is part of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), one of 11 agencies that make up the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).

CITY MANAGER ED EVERETT RECEIVES TOP ANNUAL HONOR FROM INTERNATIONAL CITY/COUNTY MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION “AWARD FOR CAREER EXCELLENCE”

Redwood City, CA—June 19, 2007. The International City/County Management Association (ICMA) has awarded its most-prestigious annual award, the Award for Career Excellence, to Ed Everett, City Manager of Redwood City. Each year, this much sought-after award recognizes individual professional achievement by “an outstanding chief local government administrator who has fostered representative democracy by enhancing the effectiveness of local elected officials, and by consistently initiating creative and successful programs.” The award will be formally presented to Mr. Everett at ICMA’s annual conference in October. Mr. Everett informed the city council recently that he will be retiring in September of this year.


Among the elements that led to Mr. Everett being awarded this prominent honor is his remarkable 34 years in public service and 15 years as Redwood City’s manager, earmarked by innovation, integrity, and inspiration. His innovation in the many internal and external programs and projects he’s led to success in Redwood City; his integrity in making the right decisions, not necessarily the easy decisions, in empowering others at all levels of the organization to make decisions, and in informing, guiding, debating, and supporting the members of the city council in their decision-making; and his inspiration, which has infected the City staff and elected officials, as well as an expanding portion of the community—all traits of a true leader who actively promotes a culture of achievement, productivity, and fulfillment.

Mr. Everett has dedicated his career to going beyond the standard of working toward “just” a well-managed city government; instead, he has set the standard for new heights of community involvement and engagement, and inspired a genuine dedication in staff and in elected officials. Mr. Everett’s efforts extend beyond the City’s borders to other cities and organizations, where he is a recognized leader in the concepts of community building.

During his tenure as city manager, a number of groundbreaking community building programs were developed and have matured into respected, valued, and sought-after elements contributing to our community’s quality of life; other cities have used this model to provide similar programs—Partnership Academy for Community Teamwork, Community Builders speakers series, Neighborhood Liaison and Community Task Forces, and more.

ICMA (www.icma.org) is the professional and educational organization for chief appointed managers, administrators, and assistants in cities, towns, counties, and regional entities throughout the world. Since 1914, ICMA has provided technical and management assistance, training, and information resources to its members and the local government community. The management decisions made by ICMA’s nearly 8,000 members affect more than 100 million individuals in thousands of communities—from small towns with populations of a few hundred to metropolitan areas serving several million.

Redwood City, California. 2007b. “City Manager Ed Everett Receives Top Annual Honor from International City/County Management Association – ‘Award for Career Excellence.’” Redwood City, CA, June 19. www.



redwoodcity.org/manager/news/2007/pr_mgr_icma.html. Accessed 2/3/15.

Comparable innovations are evident at the county level of government, which, according to the National Association of Counties, includes more than 3,000 American counties. States hold a unique position within the United States. They serve as conduits between the federal government and the local governments. With their special set of distinctive powers and responsibilities, the 50 states channel substantial federal funding to counties, municipalities, and school districts. In total, states employ more than 5 million public servants.

Typical bureaucrats would have had no interest in innovating and saving the state large sums. But directors such as Kevin Concannon and Jeff Vonk proved otherwise:

The Department of Human Services implemented the Preferred Drug List for Medicaid and saved the state \$1.7 million in 2005. They also increased the number of children with health insurance by 33 percent.

The Department of Natural Resources reduced the amount of time it takes to obtain air quality, wastewater construction, and landfill permits without sacrificing any environmental standards or quality.

The Department of Revenue increased the number of income tax returns filed electronically from 55 percent to 67 percent. They also improved the number of income tax refunds issued within 45 days from 75 percent to 94 percent (Democratic Leadership Council 2008).

2008 STRATEGIC LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAM EXCELLENCE AWARD: THE CASE OF POLK COUNTY

In 2003, a new administration came to Polk County. Among the several strategic initiatives it identified as critical to the organization's success, one initiative—a renewed commitment to excellence in customer service, both internal and external—identified three challenges:

- Develop a high-performing workforce that delivers top-quality customer service

- Engender a commitment to excellence within that workforce

- Foster a culture that recognizes that achieving these objectives is the key to organizational excellence.

Believing that the only way to successfully attain these goals is to invest in the organization's most valuable resource, its employees, County Manager Herr created an entirely new division, Organization and Employee Development (OED). OED's mission is to achieve organizational excellence through the engagement, development, and recognition of employees, and to stimulate a culture shift that values employees as critical to organizational success. To support its mission, OED developed and implemented the following programs:

Employee Development Program

Developed from an organization-wide needs assessment, this program offers over 110 classroom sessions within four certificate concentration programs of study (communications skills, professional development, customer services provider, and supervisory skills) all directly related to the organization's strategic objectives. The courses are taught by in-house talent as well as outsourced subject experts. Since the program began, course offerings have increased significantly, with subject matter chosen in response to employee feedback. To date, more than 1,300 employees have participated in the program, and almost 150 certificates have been awarded to those who have completed a program of study.



New Employee Orientation (NEO)

NEO is a 2-day program that presents an overview of the county's mission, vision, values, services, strategic objectives, and diversity goals, followed by a half-day course devoted to customer service. An "Information Fair" allows new employees to meet and question various benefit and service providers one-on-one. The program also provides worksite orientation to help employees transition into their new work life. An orientation coordinator is designated for each work division, and each new hire is assigned to a sponsor within his or her work group for a two-week period. The success of the NEO is evident in employee response: nearly 100 percent of employees reported that they felt welcomed to the organization, 97 percent believed that they had made a positive career choice, and after 90 days, 92 percent felt that the orientation had helped them assimilate into their new workplace. NEO won the National Association of Counties Award for Excellence in 2007.

Emerging Leaders Program (ELP)

ELP has three goals: to identify top performers in the organization, to develop and prepare them for leadership roles, and to enable them to qualify for consideration in upcoming supervisory/management vacancies. After top-performing non-supervisory employees are identified through a competitive application process, a select group is given the chance to develop their leadership capabilities and skills by participating in a high-visibility personal and professional development program. Participants are provided with opportunities for organization-wide exposure through a communications package that showcases their talents and abilities.

Succession Planning Program


Anticipating the possible retirement of up to 37 percent of senior leaders by 2011, this program identifies potential candidates for positions considered critical to organizational success, and ensures that they all have targeted, individual development plans to prepare them for candidacy. This program is the first formal process initiated that aligns strategic career development with future organizational leadership needs.

SHINE Employee Suggestion Program

The SHINE (Suggestions Help Increase and Nurture Excellence) program recognizes that employees represent an unlimited source of ingenuity in developing ideas to reduce costs and improve processes. Adopted ideas can earn the employee anywhere from \$25 to \$3,000. SHINE has become a part of the county's work culture, encouraging employee involvement and fostering employee recognition. Since its inception, SHINE has generated almost 1,800 suggestions and saved more than \$6 million through improved county operations and services. The program has been recognized by the Employee Involvement Association, and has received awards for excellence in the performance of an employee suggestion program, for savings per 100 eligible employees in an employee suggestion program, and for an evaluator's exceptional performance in evaluating suggestions and promoting employee involvement.

REACHIS/Kudos Program

For the first time, employees were given the responsibility for selecting the organizational mission, vision, and values. After more than 60 managers and directors joined together to develop the mission statement ("We enhance the quality of life for people throughout Polk County"), vision statement ("Polk County, where people excel"), and values (Results-oriented, Excellence, Accountability, Collaboration, Honesty, Integrity, Stewardship—REACHIS), a campaign was launched to convey the message to the entire organization of over 2,200 employees. Employees received a REACHIS wallet card with the mission and values defined. A team of OED specialists then visited every work unit, explaining the purpose and meaning of the information, and County Manager Herr followed up, visiting and speaking personally with every group to reinforce the concepts. This highly popular and versatile recognition tool has been incorporated into the



award and celebration programs of the various work groups, divisions, and departments.

Employee Survey

An organization-wide employee satisfaction survey was designed as a tool for open communication. For the first time, employees had the opportunity to voice their feelings and to analyze the results of their opinions. Each survey question was tied to an organizational value, and responses were used to identify strengths and weaknesses of each division based on employee opinion. Results were shared with employees, and discussion of problem areas provided the basis for developing strategies for improvement.

Better, Faster, Cheaper

An organization-wide initiative used employee teams to identify and develop process improvement strategies for targeted service areas, such as health care claims processing, e-payment options, capital improvement projects, board agenda, and hiring/on-boarding processes. Participation in the program developed leadership skills, such as active listening, critical thinking, facilitation, team building, and process improvement methodologies. In an organization proud of its history, conservative in its spending, and cautious in its decisions, the creation of a new kind of division was a major departure for the executive team. County Manager Herr knew that to achieve the goals defined by strategic objectives and achieve a high level of performance throughout the organization, employees would have to become a focus for development. To that end, the OED division was placed under the Financial and Strategic Planning Department—an indication that OED programs would have a global effect on the organization and would tie directly to organizational strategies. At first this small but dedicated team spent much time establishing an identity for the division, whose initial project was a training needs assessment. For the first time, employees were given choices about the skills they wanted to master and the developmental goals they wanted to pursue to improve their performance. Giving employees a real voice in the process established a precedent for OED programs, and sent a powerful message to the entire organization:


employees are the focus and employee development is a priority. Over time, the professional diligence that creates a consistent level of quality began to permeate the minds of both management and employees. OED began to establish an identity as a resource for innovation and problem solving. Its hard-won reputation for excellence was borne out by the high level of quality that its programs and staff members exhibited. OED has made incredible strides in changing the way employees think about themselves, their future, and their workplace. The work that lies ahead for this division remains a challenge, but the foundation of quality and dedication to excellence will serve OED well as it continues to grow and strive toward organizational greatness, one employee at a time.

International City/County Management Association (ICMA). 2008. "Strategic Leadership and Governance. Populations of 50,000 and Greater. Polk County, Florida." Alliance for Innovation Case Studies. <http://transformgov.org/Documents/Document/Document/5824>. Accessed 2/3/15.

The charter agencies exceeded their original goals by at least 50 percent and saved the state about \$22 million (Public Strategies Group 2009).

Although Iowa's charter agencies are just one set of examples of responsible government—and were recognized with Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government Innovation Award in 2005—thousands of parallels are operating in governments across the country.

The non-profit sector is another often invisible part of the public service delivery system. Non-profits play a special role our society. They are not considered formal government entities but often receive government funding and deliver government services. They are not part of the market economy but often provide services similar to their for-profit counterparts. Many citizens view non-profit organizations as the threads that hold our society together. They are mission-driven organizations, which means their main



motivation is not to increase profit but to achieve their service goals. They serve thousands of communities in areas ranging from the arts to education, from health care to social services, from museums to orphanages, and they provide assistance at the local, state, national, and international levels.

According to the Urban Institute, there are approximately 1.4 million non-profit organizations in the United States (Urban Institute 2010). And according to the Foundation Center, about 12.5 million people were employed by non-profit organizations in 2001 (Foundation Center 2010). They work with millions of others who volunteer with those organizations. Nearly 100 million Americans volunteer each year to assist public, non-profit, and informal organizations. In 2009 the Corporation for National and Community Service reported that in 2008 about 61.8 million Americans volunteered their time to organizations. According to the corporation, they gave, “8.1 billion hours of service worth approximately \$162 billion to America’s communities.” This figure remained relatively steady during the economic downturn in comparison with the previous year (Corporation for National and Community Service 2009).

THE CASE OF IOWA

If the typical depiction of government is that of a static system—an unchanging bureaucracy that is not willing or likely to change—then Iowa has challenged this misconception, and its public servants have won that challenge. In 2003 the Iowa State Assembly passed into law a statute permitting six charter agencies:


These agencies have agreed to be held accountable to produce better, measurable results for Iowans through the services they provide, and they have either cut spending or will generate new revenue as part of their agreements. In exchange, the charter agencies exercise greater flexibility in such administrative matters as agency personnel, procurement, and information technology decision-making. These agencies will identify new, more efficient and innovative ways to achieve results. (State of Iowa 2004, p. 3)

Finding agencies that were willing to participate in the charter agency initiative was not an easy task. J. Chrisinger and B. Armajani (2008) noted that, many directors and staff remained skeptical. Many did not want to gamble on the new deal because they were unsure it was “real.” Some felt they could not justify the fiscal obligation. Others had not made the transformation into a results-based organization a priority. But six directors who were running into roadblocks on the road to results saw enough potential to literally pay for charter status with budget cuts or new revenue contributions from their agencies.

These directors headed up the following agencies: Alcoholic Beverages Division of the Department of Commerce; Department of Corrections; Department of Human Services; Department of Natural Resources; Department of Revenue; and the Iowa Veterans Home.

Jeff Vonk was the director of Iowa’s Department of Natural Resources (DNR). He had been a public servant for over 30 years, working for the Natural Resources Conservation Service and the Department of Agriculture. Vonk believed that a charter agency would give him an opportunity to turn the DNR into a “world class” organization.

Kevin Concannon, director of the Iowa Department of Human Services, believes that the charter status has allowed his agency to achieve its goals and exceed expectations. Additionally, the greater flexibility has given the agency more control over its staffing (Chrisinger 2007). Concannon knew a good opportunity when he saw one in the field of health and human services. Since 1980, he has served in four different posts as a health-related government administrator. Prior to becoming the director of the Iowa Department of Human Services in 2003, he served as the commissioner of Maine’s Department of Human Services from 1995 to 2003, the director of Oregon’s Department of Human Services from 1987 to 1995, and the Commissioner of the Maine Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation from 1980 to 1987 (US Department of Agriculture 2009).



According to the Federal Bureau of Justice, about 67 percent of US prisoners who are released are re-arrested within three years (Carnegie Mellon University 2009). Support services that work to prevent prisoner re-incarceration are typically operated by non-profits organizations such as Family Justice and its La Bodega de la Familia/The Partner Project. Many public services are delivered by private organizations (both for-profit and not-for-profit). In 2007 the federal government spent about \$450 billion on contracts. Those service delivery arrangements utilized about 189,000 contracting organizations. Paul Light, a scholar at the Brookings Institution and professor at New York University's Robert F. Wagner School of Public Service, estimated that the total number of federal contractor employees working with the government was around 7.63 million in 2005 (Lee 2006). If one includes those employed under federal grants, the number of employees supporting federal programs but not directly on the payroll increases to over 10 million (Lee 2006). It is challenging to estimate these numbers on the state and local level, primarily because consistent data are not available; however, it is safe to assume that the state and local contracting workforce is at least as great as that of the federal government.

In addition to contracted companies, government also disburses a large amount of funding through grants. The federal government defines a grant as “an award of financial assistance from a federal agency to a recipient to carry out a public purpose of support or stimulation authorized by a law of the United States” (Grants.gov 2009). In 2008 the federal government expended about \$500 billion in grants. Funding went to states, which then distributed the money to localities and private companies to serve a public purpose. Medical assistance programs received the greatest portion of this funding, at about \$175 billion. Grants provide states and localities with the opportunities to develop highly successful programs that other governments might emulate (Executive Office of the President of the United States 2009; USA Government Grants 2010).


Community Care of North Carolina (CCNC) is a “public-private partnership between the State of North Carolina and 14 not-for-profit networks that are comprised of the majority of local health care providers; primary care physicians, hospitals, health departments, social service agencies and safety net organizations” (Dobson 2009). The program receives most of its funding from Medicaid dollars distributed among the various partners in the network and provides a strong network for Medicaid patients. As of 2010, about a million of the 1.4 million North Carolinians receiving Medicaid were enrolled in CCNC (North Carolina Division of Medical Assistance 2010). North Carolina has also taken steps to include individuals with disabilities and those who are enrolled in the state's Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP).

A CONVERSATION WITH CAS HOLLOWAY, COMMISSIONER, NEW YORK CITY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION (2009–2011)

As we continue to engage government executives who are changing the way government does business, we had the pleasure of taking The Business of Government Hour on the road to a variety of US cities. New York City, perhaps more than any other, represents a complex ecosystem that requires and consumes a vast array of natural resources. Protecting such resources and the environmental health and welfare of its residents is essential for the City—for all cities to exist and thrive. We spoke with Cas Holloway, commissioner of the NYC Department of Environmental Protection (DEP), about his efforts in this area that includes an overview of the City's water system, how the City ensures its water system is viable for the next 100 years, innovative ways of managing a major capital construction portfolio, NYC's sustainability efforts, and protection of its watersheds.

On New York City's Sustainability Agenda and PlaNYC

Mayor Bloomberg probably has the most ambitious urban environmental agenda in the country, if not the world—PlaNYC. It sets 127 goals for 2030, which range from reducing the city's greenhouse gas emissions by 30 percent to opening up 90 percent of the city's waterways to recreation. In order to do that, you have



to have high water quality. In order to have high water quality, you have to meet treatment standards, while always looking to do better either through technology or operating efficiency. DEP has a central role in PlaNYC. One of the first things I did when I became commissioner was to create a new position, the deputy commissioner for sustainability. Our deputy commissioner, Carter Strickland, is looking at how we can bring in a more aggressive, green infrastructure approach. The basic idea is, how do we capture storm water from the buildings or the streets, and can we do it with infrastructure that also has ancillary public benefit? DEP is ahead of the curve on sustainable methods of dealing with things like storm water. This is a really exciting area. It's going to take open-mindedness on the part of our regulators for us to be successful, but we think we can capture more storm water, and do a better job overall.

IBM Center for The Business of Government. 2010. "Conversations with Leaders. A Conversation with Cas Holloway, Commissioner, New York City Department of Environmental Protection." *The Business of Government* (fall/winter 2010): 23–27. www.businessofgovernment.org. Accessed 2/3/15.

CCNC is a networked model. This means that the state has organized a number of responsible parties to assist in providing services to patients in need. Each of its 14 networks "employs a full-time program director, a part-time medical director, and a team of case managers. Some networks have hired additional staff to help with data analysis and other network initiatives. Each network is guided by a steering committee that consists of physicians and representatives from the local hospitals, health departments, and departments of social services" (Steiner 2008). In total, the network is comprised of 3,500 primary care physicians and 1,200 medical homes, and provides coverage in all of North Carolina's 100 counties (Dobson 2009). Each of the 14 networks has a "medical home" in which care can be organized and coordinated among the team members. According to Grover and Conroy (2009), a medical home is a "concept of care delivery that includes an ongoing relationship with patients and their families, around the clock access to medical consultation, respect for cultural and religious beliefs, comprehensive approach to care, and coordination of care among providers and community services."

Every patient is assigned a case manager who can ensure that proper care is provided and the network's resources are used properly.


CCNC uses quality data to evaluate the progress of the networks and focuses on data analysis to provide a clear understanding of benchmarks achieved. According to a study conducted by the Mercer Group,

Using conservative modeling, CCNC saved the State of North Carolina \$60 million in fiscal year 2003. By 2006, savings had increased to \$161 million annually. More liberal modeling puts the cost saving at more than \$300 million annually by 2006. The largest savings were achieved in emergency department utilization (23 percent less than projected), outpatient care (25 percent less than projected), and pharmacy (11 percent less than projected). (cited by Steiner 2008).

As this case demonstrates, public servants both inside and outside of government are professionals contributing to the public good. Government and its partners are efficiently providing quality services.

CAPTURING THE ATTENTION OF YOUTH

Public services are not provided solely by those who work for the state. In addition to non-profit and private-sector partners, the government has made a concerted effort to engage young people in public service. Since the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001, a significant increase has been noted in service among youth between the ages of 18 and 24. In order to encourage college graduates to embark on a lifetime of service, the Corporation for National and Community Service provides volunteer opportunities for dedicated college students across the country. Cultivating an ethic of civic responsibility, America's colleges and universities increasingly and explicitly promote service-oriented studies, facilitating and encouraging a culture of service. Many universities have instituted public service honors for students who complete at least 100 hours of service during their



college careers, and others have required public service as part of the general university requirements for graduation.

According to a 2014 report from the Corporation for National and Community Service, 62.6 million adults (25.4 percent) volunteered through an organization in 2013. Altogether, Americans volunteered nearly 7.7 billion hours. The research shows that Americans' commitment to volunteering spans across generations. Americans aged 35–44 had the highest volunteer rate (31.3 percent) followed by those aged 45–54 (29.4 percent). One in five individuals defined as “Millennials,” those aged 16–31, (21.7 percent) volunteered. The age groups with the highest median hours among volunteers are ages 65–74 (92 hours) and those 75 and older (90 hours). The volunteer rate of parents with children under age 18 (32.9 percent) remained higher than the population as a whole (25.4 percent) and for persons without children under 18 (22.7 percent). The volunteer rate among young adults (aged 18–24) attending college was 26.7 percent; nearly double the volunteer rate of young adults not attending college (13.5 percent).

Volunteering and Civic Life in America 2014. Corporation for National and Community Service. www.volunteeringinamerica.gov. Accessed 1/7/15.

College students' commitment to serve has helped redefine spring break from “party time” to “volunteer time.” Six months after Hurricane Katrina, more than 31,000 students took alternative, service-oriented spring breaks. The following year, that number increased by 16 percent. In March 2007, approximately 36,000 students from 300 schools spent their spring break cleaning up debris and painting houses in the Gulf or around the world (Johnston 2007).

So many young people were sitting in school watching the horrible devastation and wondering what they could do about it. . . . Because they're students . . . they just can't write checks and feel like they did something. In order to contribute, they have to do it with their physical labor.


(United Way spokesperson Shelia Consaul, quoted in Johnston 2007)

The willingness and “can-do” spirit exemplified by students who take public service- oriented spring breaks is critical to securing America's democratic future in the twenty- first century. Such commitment helps to maintain the openness and optimism that make a democracy work (Friedman 2007). As the class of 2007 entered the workforce, they were asked to demonstrate that service matters beyond their college service experience: “Do you have a purpose? Do you have a calling?” (Rev. Peter J. Gomes, Augustana College 2007 Commencement Speech, quoted in Finder 2007). These graduates are being encouraged to make a commitment to serve others by getting involved and becoming “part of the solution.” Former first lady Laura Bush, in a commencement speech at Pepperdine University, encouraged the class of 2007 to make the most of their tremendous energy and idealism by entering public service:

Today starts a period of incredible liberty and adventure—a time to demand the most of your life. . . . And as you work to make the most of what you received, I can tell you one thing for sure: You won't waste your talents and education if you “freely give” them in service to others. (Bush, quoted in Finder 2007).

Over the course of the last decade, the appeal of community involvement has risen as increasing numbers of students enter college with the expectation that civic engagement will be part of their overall learning experience. The Freshman Survey (TFS) administered through the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) has tracked growth trends since 1990 in students reporting community service or volunteer work as part of their experiences in high school. By 2011, expectations for college involvement in volunteer or community service among freshmen entering 4-year colleges had doubled to 34%, and nearly 88% had reported engaging in volunteer work while in high school.

It is one of the most beautiful compensations of this life that no man can sincerely try to help another without helping himself.



Ralph Waldo Emerson, essayist; philosopher; poet. College students also contribute their time through more structured programs such as service learning. Service learning is defined as a method of teaching and learning that combines academic work with meaningful service to the community. Students “learn by doing” through a clear application of skills and knowledge while helping to meet specific needs in neighboring schools and the community. Service learning enriches the learning experience, teaches civic responsibility, and strengthens communities (State of New Jersey 2006).

An estimated 10.6 million students nationwide (38.6 percent) participate in community service as part of a school activity or requirement (Corporation for National and Community Service 2006). Seventy-eight percent of students who participate in school-based service learning report their experience as positive, and 87 percent of students believe they learned skills they will use in the future. Service-learning students participate in diverse community programs. For example, in California, a group of 60 students from San Diego State University teach in the City Heights Schools and develop exams or new courses. And in a short-term service-learning relief effort organized by the University of South Carolina, 100 students served in Biloxi, Mississippi, after Hurricane Katrina. Working closely with Salvation Army volunteers, these students contributed hands-on work that included cleanup, home restoration, the delivery of water and food, and the preparation of care packages. The Student Hurricane Network (SHN) was founded by Morgan Williams, a Tulane University law school student, in response to community needs after Hurricane Katrina. The SHN provides ongoing legal assistance to communities affected by Katrina and creates and coordinates volunteer opportunities in the Gulf Coast region. As of 2006, it was affiliated with more than 60 law schools nationwide and averages 175 volunteers per month (Student Hurricane Network 1999–2010).

Community service among teenagers is substantial. The Corporation for National and Community Service, in collaboration with the US Census Bureau and the non-profit coalition Independent Sector, conducted a major federal survey of teenage volunteerism in early 2005. Results indicate that an estimated 15.5 million youth—or 55 percent of youth aged 12 to 18—participate in volunteer activities; the teen volunteer rate is nearly twice the adult volunteer rate of 29 percent (Corporation for National and Community Service 2006). Moreover, youth contribute more than 1.3 billion hours of community service each year.

In addition to the Corporation for National and Community Service, other agencies provide opportunities for younger citizens looking to participate. Internationally, since 1961, about 200,000 volunteers have worked for the Peace Corps. The average age of Peace Corps volunteers is 27. The three main goals of the program are:


To help the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained men and women.

To help promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served.

To help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans. (Peace Corps 2008)

The Peace Corps provides education, health, business development, agriculture, environmental, and youth development services, and many of its volunteers are recent college graduates. That same age group also provides young teachers for urban public schools through the Baltimore City Teaching Residency, the New York City Teaching Fellows, and the Washington, DC, Teaching Fellows. Each of these programs provides extended support for new recruits and enrolls them in a local master's degree program. Since 1991, the nationwide fellowship program Teach for America has placed more than 25,000 recent graduates in 35 cities and rural areas across the United States. It also involves alumni in policy and leadership roles after serving in the classroom: “Alumni are a powerful and growing force for change. By exerting leadership from inside and outside education, our alumni leverage their corps experience to improve outcomes and opportunities for low-income students and to fight for systemic reform” (Teach for America 2009).

PUBLIC INFORMATION



Informing the public about the accomplishments of the public sector and public servants is an essential but often neglected duty of government. Government agencies and their staffs are under constant scrutiny from politicians, the private sector, and the media. As discussed earlier, an inaccurate, distorted portrayal of public servants characterizes them as inept and inefficient. To the extent that society perpetuates these misconceptions and erroneous images remain unchallenged, the job of the public servant becomes even more difficult. Public administration needs to emphasize the value of service as a form of “intangible income.” Public servants who are dedicated to serving their fellow citizens are motivated by desires, in many small ways, to make our society a better place in which to live. Although many award-winning public servants work in environments that challenge even the most optimistic, creative, and industrious personalities, they are motivated by a calling to contribute to improving the lives of their fellow citizens and by a compelling desire to address social problems. Public servants must bring that sense of mission and commitment into the classroom and the living room, providing students and citizens with more balanced views of public service.

Public administration must attract the attention of government’s critics (such as MBAs), some of whom might consider temporary public service, if not career changes, in the spirit of the Populist movement of the nineteenth century. Populists were suspicious of government and concerned about abuses of power by large private institutions such as banks, railroads, political machines, and corporations. They recognized that for individuals and communities to retain any real power in modern society, they would need the help of an energetic government staffed with some of the country’s best and brightest people, who would work in concert with an active citizenry in order to counter the inherent power of these private interests.


The public service must communicate commitment as a series of positive images. By no means is the public sector dead or moribund. Public servants are typically productive, successful, and professional, and when citizens are asked to evaluate specific public servants with whom they come into personal contact, they are generally complimentary. Negative images do not usually withstand careful scrutiny: government does a good job, often an outstanding job, in difficult circumstances. The public sector must present evidence that public servants function well, despite the constant barrage of negative images, superficial criticism, and less-than-ideal levels of public support. It is imperative to communicate to the citizenry how committed public organizations and public employees have developed systematic problem-solving strategies and a remarkable capacity for innovation.

Public administration’s “target” audience must be multifaceted. The primary goal should be to capture the imagination of present and future students in the field (graduates, and perhaps undergraduates specializing in public administration, health, law enforcement, education, non-profit administration, etc.), with the goal of attracting more of the top minds to government service. Public administration programs in colleges and universities are encouraged to develop the strategies necessary to defend public workers and eradicate the prevailing view of stereotypical “bureaucrats.”

Beyond government, it is important to educate government’s most ardent critics. Many highly educated professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, and accountants, are not certain about what the field of public administration encompasses. They might confuse it with business administration, engineering, or city planning. It is important for government’s stakeholders to realize that there is a field of study dedicated to the management of our public organizations. To foster such an education, a collaborative effort on the part of various professional communities might be helpful.

NET WORKS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

An important aspect of the public service community is the ability of its members to connect. With the popularity of websites such as Facebook, MySpace, and LinkedIn, it is clear that networking is an important aspect of our professional and social lives. Fortunately, within the field of public administration, a number



of networks and professional organizations exist to fulfill this need. The foci of these groups differ, based on members' needs and responsibilities. Some foster relationships within a content-specific community, while others provide support for the field in general. A list and brief description of the typical networks for students and practitioners in the field of public administration follows.

American Society for Public Administration (ASPA)

ASPA is one of the broadest-serving organizations in the field of public administration. With some 9,000 members, ASPA provides services to practitioners, scholars, educators, and students in both government and the non-profit sectors.

ASPA is the leading public service organization that:

Advances the art, science, teaching, and practice of public and non-profit administration

Promotes the value of joining and elevating the public service profession

Builds bridges among all who pursue public purposes

Provides networking and professional development opportunities to those committed to public service values

Achieves innovative solutions to the challenges of governance.

ASPA publishes *Public Administration Review (PAR)*, the *PA Times*, and *The Bridge*. *PAR* is a leading academic journal with over 60 volumes of articles. The *PA Times* is a bimonthly newspaper that focuses on key issues facing practitioners, and *The Bridge* is an online newsletter that offers frequent updates and much-needed information about various networking opportunities. ASPA hosts an annual conference with more than a thousand people in attendance and a number of smaller conferences and professional development opportunities. The organization also features content-specific subsections along with a number of regional affiliates to make membership more accessible and applicable to members' daily activities.

Web: www.aspanet.org.

The Virtual Museum of Public Service

Public service is a basic human paradigm wherein active citizens—participating professionally or as volunteers in their communities and governments—support their neighbors and help make possible the conduct of civil society. The essential components of our society are largely carried out in the public sphere: education, health, justice and security, environmental protection, museums and the arts, and so on. Yet citizens often undervalue endeavors undertaken in volunteer, not-for-profit, and government settings. The vital public service sector is broadly represented in the arts and in contemporary media, yet the public service endeavor is most often oversimplified and receives unjustified criticism as inefficient or inept. The Virtual Museum of Public Service balances this stereotype, drawing on digital representations of great works of visual art, film, video, and significant documentary artifacts to depict the largely unrecognized achievements and sacrifices of individuals in the public service, thereby reflecting the contributions that public servants have made to their communities, nations, and the world. The museum has over 30 galleries for permanent and special exhibitions. Among these are galleries dedicated to Women in Public Service, Science in the Public Interest, Faith-Based Public Service Initiatives, Firefighters, Philanthropy, Leadership in Public Service, and many more.

Web: <http://www.vmps.us>.

The International City/County Management Association (ICMA)

ICMA is a non-profit 501(c)(3) member-based organization offering services to over 9,000 managers across

the world. ICMA's "mission is to create excellence in local governance by developing and fostering professional local government management worldwide." ICMA offers a number of professional services, including publications, opportunities for professional development, and conferences throughout the year. Their network of managers is highly professional and offers a strong resource for other members to access.

Web: <http://icma.org>.

KEY TERMS

Federal government grant Local government

Public-private partnership Public servants

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CASE STUDIES

"Social Media and the Government Employee: Reconciling Our Public and Private Digital Identities." Stephen Kleinschmit. Department of Public Policy, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne. <http://spaa.newark.rutgers.edu/casesimportal/component/content/article/193-newly-added-cases-and-simulations/1297-social-media-and-the-government-employee-reconciling-our-public-a-private-digital-identities.html>. Accessed 5/1/15.

Ceding a portion of one's right to free speech has long been an expectation of public service, but social media has facilitated new forms of conflict, testing the bounds of acceptable private behavior. Though technological innovation has far outpaced slowly evolving legal doctrines, a number of precedents may be used as general guidelines as to acceptable forms of employee speech. This paper provides a brief assessment of these legal doctrines by reviewing three case studies. First, Hispanics United explores the distinction between individual and collective forms of speech online, the latter of which is protected under the National Labor Relations Act. Then, we examine two teacher firings that have evidenced an inconsistent application of these doctrines by administrative judges. The divergent outcomes can largely be attributed to the nature of the offending speeches, the publicness of the conflicts, and the loss of trust between the public employees and the communities they serve.

"A Restoring Prosperity Case Study: Chattanooga Tennessee." David Eichenthal and Tracy Windeknecht, 2003. Brookings Institution <http://spaa.newark.rutgers.edu/casesimportal/component/content/article/107-spaa-portal/720-a-restoring-prosperity-case-study-chattanooga-tennessee.html>. Accessed 5/1/15.

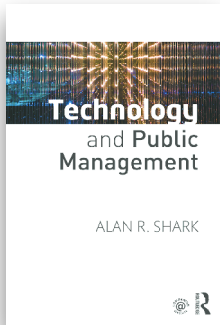
Chattanooga a few years ago faced what many smaller cities are struggling with today—a sudden decline after years of prosperity in the "old" economy. This case study offers a roadmap for these cities by chronicling Chattanooga's demise and rebirth. Chattanooga was at one time the "Dynamo of Dixie"—a bustling, mid-sized industrial city in the heart of the South. By 1940, Chattanooga's population was centered around a vibrant downtown and it was one of the largest cities in the United States. Just 50 years later, however, it was in deep decline. This report describes how Chattanooga has turned its economy around. It begins with a summary of how the city grew and developed during its first 150 years before describing the factors driving its decline.

Results-Oriented Cultures: Insights for US Agencies from Other Countries' Performance Management Initiatives. United States Government Accountability Office, 2002. <http://spaa.newark.rutgers.edu/casesimportal/component/content/article/145-spaa-portal/1183-results-oriented-cultures-insights-for-us-agencies-from-other-countries-performance-management-initiatives.html>. Accessed 5/1/15.

Public sector organizations, both here and abroad, face strategic human capital management challenges. The United States is not alone in examining how government agencies can use their performance management systems as a tool to foster a more results-oriented organizational culture. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has reported that its member nations have increasingly moved towards performance-based pay and appraisal systems that reward employees, hold them accountable for the quality of their work, and connect their efforts to organizational results. Four OECD member countries—Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom—have begun to use their performance management systems to achieve results.

Digital Equity and Ethics

Chapter 5: Digital Equity and Ethics



The following is excerpted from *Technology and Public Management* By Alan R. Shark. © 2015 Taylor & Francis Group. All rights reserved.

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Ethics is a major component in most, if not all, public management and administration curricula across the nation. Digital ethics is simply a contemporary discussion of ethics—except it requires special attention given today's information technology environment.

In January 2010, President Obama's nominee to head the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) was forced to withdraw his nomination. The nominee was a highly regarded individual who had previously served as an FBI agent and homeland security specialist. Despite his stellar credentials, it was revealed by those opposed to his nomination, and reported by *The Washington Post*, that he had provided misleading information about incidents going back over twenty years when he inappropriately accessed a federal database to obtain information about his estranged wife's new boyfriend. While this may have constituted a violation against privacy laws, it would have been highly unlikely any such violation would have lead to any jail time (O'Harrow and O'Keefe 2010). Here is where ethics becomes somewhat tricky in that ethics violations carry different penalties. In some cases a person might indeed be sentenced to jail time, however, ethics violations more commonly lead to humiliation, damaged careers, position reassignments, and forced retirement.

In today's digital information age, almost nothing gets erased, and records that were once tucked away in paper file cabinets are now online for anyone to search and see. This is a result of archived newspaper stories and Freedom of Information Act requests (FOIA). In October 2010, the Federal Government's Deputy Chief Technology Officer was reprimanded for an ethics violation (Albanesius 2010). In this case, the former Google staffer was caught using a personal email account for official government business purposes. The goal here is not to render judgment regarding these two examples, but instead to point out how vulnerable we have all become in the digital information age. It appears there is always someone or group that is out to learn more about a corporate or public official background, beliefs, and more.

Public managers must be consistently aware and watchful of each of the five major categories regarding digital ethics.

The critical need to protect information and privacy. Here, the temptations are great to take advantage of one's position and look at someone else's personal information without authorization or permission.


Preserving and protecting data records in all mediums. Similarly,

one must be extremely prudent in what is written in an email, report, application, or even a resume in terms of openness and veracity. This caution also extends to postings on social media as well as pictures posted online. As but one example, one might be surprised to learn how many executives have embellished their resumes thinking no one would ever find out. Both the presidents of Radio Shack and Yahoo ultimately found themselves having to resign their positions after it was discovered they either greatly exaggerated or lied on their resumes (Giang and Lockhart 2012).

The vast amounts of money spent on IT projects. Because of

the great sums of money spent on technology acquisitions and projects, there can be great temptation to steer a project to a favored vendor or to accept favors with the thought that no one would ever know. Newspapers across the country are filled with stories of people who should have known better being fired or sent to prison. In the City of Philadelphia an internal investigation found that the Deputy Chief Information Officer for Communications and Operations and an Information System Operations Manager had accepted meals and gifts from vendors with city contracts, violating a mayoral executive order and provisions of the Philadelphia Home Rule Charter (Unknown 2011).

The interaction between vendors and IT leadership. It is human



nature to build strong relationships between public managers and technology vendors. Even the appearance of having an authorized lunch or dinner can raise alarms among other public employees and quite possibly the press, which tends to have an obsession with such matters. Ethics in the public sector is not only about acceptable behavior—it is also about public perceptions.

Technological complexity. Many technology projects are highly complex, and, for non-technical managers, it is easy to look the other way, letting responsibility fall to the technology executives. As a result, when technical complexity is involved it is somewhat easier to hide unethical acts as compared to other government operations. The CIO of the City of Baltimore was forced to resign after it was found that he had violated ethical rules while serving as the Deputy Chief Information Officer for the Office for Technology, a New York State agency. The unethical violations stemming from his post in New York actually followed him to Baltimore and in the end cost him his job and reputation. The irony here is that he was looked upon as a true innovative leader in Baltimore until the disclosure of his previous misstep.

Accessing confidential information online is easy and tempting. Today, email exchanges document conversations where it once took recording devices to do the same. The digital world has made it easier to cross into the realm of unethical activity and at the same time it has created a landscape where unethical activity is easily recorded. Taking digital pictures and sending emails has become part of the daily activity of many citizens and government employees, so accidentally spying or leaking information is much easier to do. Ethical pitfalls exist everywhere in the modern, connected world.

The world has changed in other ways that make unintentional ethics violations possible, too. The whole world is still not fully modern and connected, even within the borders of America's federal, state, and local governments. Instead of simply re-positioning notions of ethics into the context of the digital world, public administrators have a responsibility to extend notions of ethics and availability to include new contexts without fully abandoning the notions that have been held in the past. This is because the rise of connected devices has not been felt universally and equally across demographics. Mistakenly ignoring disconnected populations and other issues of digital accessibility can lead to unintentional discrimination among certain age groups, demographics, regions, and even ethnicities.


Ethics in Contemporary Government

In 2008, the nonprofit Ethics Resource Center released a study examining the ethics of the United States government at all three levels—federal, state, and local (Lee 2008). The study found that 57 percent of the government employees surveyed had “witnessed a violation of ethics standards, policy or the law in their workplace within the past year” (Ethics Resource Center 2008). Most workers at each level had personally witnessed unethical activities. Fifty-two percent of federal government workers, 57 percent of state government workers and 63 percent of local government workers had seen unethical activity in the last year (ibid.). Across government, some 24 percent of employees reported working in environments conducive to bad behavior (ibid.). At that time, 30 percent of the misconduct survey participants had witnessed in the past year had gone unreported.

Unethical activity is part of human behavior. People simply do not always do the right thing. It occurs across the private sector, as well. This is an ongoing issue in the pursuit of a better world. But more and more, tackling ethics issues in the contemporary world means tackling ethics on a new frontier—the digital frontier.

Ethics in the Digital Age

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the noun *Ethic* simply as “rules of behavior based on ideas about what is morally good and bad” (Merriam-Webster website). In government, ethics are the basis of public trust, an imperative for the survival of democracy. Without public trust, a system based on representation



elected by the people would be in serious jeopardy. If the role of public administrators is to protect the public interest, then part of the way public administrators will be judged is by their ability to conform to ethical guidelines.

Even though efforts to fully smother the flames of ethical misconduct might never prove completely effective, efforts to tamp down on bad behavior will remain critical to the maintenance of public trust. Congress acknowledged this fact when it passed the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, establishing the US Office of Government Ethics (OGE), which has a mission to “foster high ethical standards for executive branch employees and strengthen the public’s confidence that the government’s business is conducted with impartiality and integrity” (OGE 2014b).

Interestingly, one of the roles of the OGE is to ensure that executive branch ethics programs comply with laws and regulations (ibid.). It’s no secret that the sands of ethics are always shifting. Laws, too, change regularly. It’s important to note that just because a behavior has been acceptable in the past does not mean it always will be. As laws and expectations shift, so must ethics. This means that even if something was acceptable or even encouraged in the past, it may be unethical, or even illegal, today. Given the rapid expansion of digital frontiers, especially where notions of privacy and ownership are concerned, it will remain critical for tomorrow’s public administrators to pay attention to new ethical standards and laws.

In 1989, President George H.W. Bush issued an executive order to encourage the adoption of a formal set of fourteen core guiding principles designed to create a unified understanding of what it means to behave ethically in the executive branch (OGE 2014a). This came as the result of a recommendation from the President’s Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform that individual agency codes of conduct be replaced with a single regulation that applied to all executive branch employees (ibid.). The regulation was put into effect on February 3, 1993, and has been amended several times already as expectations and interpretations have shifted (ibid.).

The following is a summary of the ethical code of conduct promoted and enforced by the OGE and is included as an example of the kinds of core guidelines that have been adopted by government organizations at all levels across the United States.

A Summary of OGE Employee Standards of Conduct:

Subpart A: Establishes definitions and gives the rest of the document context.

Subpart B: Prohibits the receipt of gifts from prohibited sources or gifts

received because of a person’s station within their organization.

Subpart C: Prohibits gifts worth more than \$10 from being exchanged between employees of the same agency, specifically gifts passing from subordinates to superiors.


Subpart D: Prohibits employees from participating in government work in which they have a financial interest and gives authority to agencies to prohibit employees from acquiring or retaining conflicting financial interests.

Subpart E: Prohibits conflicts of interest that may involve members of

an employee’s family or other people employees may have a specific relationship with, and is designed to prevent the perception of impartiality.

Subpart F: Prohibits government employees from participating in official activities that may have a direct impact on persons with whom they are “seeking employment.”

Subpart G: Establishes a duty to protect government property and use it only for authorized purposes. Also



prohibits activities that constitute misuse of an official position including using the office for personal gain, using nonpublic information to pursue financial gain or private interests, and using official time to perform unauthorized activities.

Subpart H: Prohibits participation in outside activities that may pose a conflict of interest.

Subpart I: Adds references to other statutes that direct employee conduct.

Of course, these guidelines and the other statutes set forth by the federal government as well as local and state governments are not fully comprehensive. Unlike in mathematics and physics, where theorems and laws can be established as near-certainties that can and will be relied upon to dictate the behavior of systems forever, ethics codes are the product of social mores and cultural standards. The same is true of laws, and the total set of ethical rules a public administrator must be aware of and follow is larger than but likely inclusive of all laws. Many ethical rules may seem gray. Some may apply in certain regions or among certain groups but not apply in others. This is not to say that establishing standards and formal codes of conduct is unproductive. On the contrary, the US legal system very clearly and deliberately tamps down on unethical behavior by citizens and the study referenced earlier in this chapter on the state of ethics in government demonstrated that, “When both a well-implemented ethics and compliance program and a strong ethical culture are in place within a government organization, misconduct drops by 60 percent, and reporting rises by 40 percent” (Ethics Resource Center 2008). Given the effectiveness of ethical codes in establishing and articulating what’s right and wrong, it might benefit tomorrow’s public administrators to consider codes of ethics established specifically to guide digital behaviors.

Information Ethics and Cyber Ethics

There has been a great deal of thought put into notions of right and wrong regarding computers, information, and the web—these topics constitute the field of study called *Cyber Ethics*. The history of cyber ethics is not devoid of valuable contributions by government organizations either.

Back in 1973, the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) outlined an early set of guiding principles for *Information Ethics*, which is a field of ethical consideration that deals directly with issues of privacy, ownership, and the notion that information has appropriate and inappropriate uses (Electronic Privacy Information Center 1973). That set of guiding principles, known as “The Code of Fair Information Practices,” was recommended by the HEW Secretary’s Advisory Committee on Automated Personal Data Systems, Records, Computers, and the Rights of Citizens (ibid.).

The Code of Fair Information Practices Established by the HEW

There must be no personal data record-keeping systems whose very existence is secret.


There must be a way for a person to find out what information about the person is in a record and how it is used.

There must be a way for a person to prevent information about the person that was obtained for one purpose from being used or made available for other purposes without the person’s consent.

There must be a way for a person to correct or amend a record of identifiable information about the person.

Any organization creating, maintaining, using, or disseminating records of identifiable personal data must assure the reliability of the data for their intended use and must take precautions to prevent misuses of the data.

Of course, there have been many other codes of information ethics written, but the HEW’s offers a good example of a code that is easy to understand and follow.



Information ethics fits within the larger notion of cyber ethics. But where information ethics tends to deal specifically with notions of right and wrong as they pertain to the appropriate use, storage, and dissemination of information, cyber ethics expands that conversation to include not just the information and data that exist on computers, but also the appropriate use of computer technologies as tools.

In 1992, the nonprofit Computer Ethics Institute proposed a set of principles called the “Ten Commandments of Computer Ethics” (CEI 1992). These were meant to describe the appropriate use of computers by human operators. Although computing technologies have changed dramatically in both form and function since these commandments were written, the rules still offer an excellent set of guidelines today.

The CEI's Ten Commandments of Computer Ethics

Thou shalt not use a computer to harm other people.

Thou shalt not interfere with other people's computer work.

Thou shalt not snoop around in other people's computer files.

Thou shalt not use a computer to steal.

Thou shalt not use a computer to bear false witness.

Thou shalt not copy or use proprietary software for which you have not paid.

Thou shalt not use other people's computer resources without authorization or proper compensation.

Thou shalt not appropriate other people's intellectual output.

Thou shalt think about the social consequences of the program you are writing or the system you are designing.


Thou shalt always use a computer in ways that ensure consideration and respect for your fellow humans.

The HEW's Code of Fair Information Practices and the CEI's Ten Commandments of Computer Ethics are both simple and yet far-reaching. Both decades old at the time of this writing, they still ring true as sound expressions of right and wrong. They are general enough to be valuable as the landscapes of information and cyber ethics evolve but specific enough to set clear guidelines. They are easy to recognize as guidelines and not so numerous to be difficult to remember. And they are both considerably comprehensive in their abilities to address the proper behavior of those they are meant to speak to. These are all common goals for any organization seeking to codify a system of ethics, and so they serve as sound examples.

Temptation, Ignorance, and the Gray Areas of Ethics

That neither of the two codes of ethics mentioned in the previous section is completely comprehensive is to be expected but imagine a full set of ethical rules as a continuum, much like the one in Figure 13.3. At one end of the spectrum are rules that are almost wholly universal in human society—rules articulating the wrongness of murder, theft, and other malicious activities. These are rules meant to prevent unethical activities that are premeditated and intentionally harm others. Unfortunately, the temptation to violate the clearest rules has perhaps never been greater for public administrators. Elected officials can often find themselves wielding unprecedented social and political power. And public administrators involved with technology projects are also often charged with operating massive financial budgets where those who don't adhere to ethical standards can easily find vast personal gain. You might never kill someone in cold blood, but malicious ethics violations for personal gain can often be as simple as a few keystrokes.

On the other end of the spectrum is a much fuzzier area, the spectrum of rules addressing unintentional or even involuntary ethical violations. Yes, even an ethics violation that a person is forced to do by his or her



supervisor or someone else is still a wrongdoing. Here in the gray area of ethics rules, many pitfalls and snares await tomorrow's public administrators who will face public scrutiny that is more far-reaching than ever before. A simple copy-paste can do damage. A quick click of a button or tweak of a number can ruin a career. A well-intentioned meeting with a vendor over a cup of coffee that is photographed on someone's smartphone can sink the hopes of an entire political party. Information travels fast in the digital world and sometimes just the appearance of scandal is enough to ruin someone. Public administrators agree by virtue of their positions in government to uphold the ethical standards of citizens. Sometimes what a government employee sees as right might be wrong in the court of public opinion. This is one of the risks of public service.

Ethics is often a gray area—subject to personal opinions and differing deeply held beliefs—both of which can shift dramatically over time. Look no further than the women's suffrage movement, the civil rights movement, or the more contemporary gay rights movement to see that ethical beliefs in America are a personal matter for everyone they touch. For this reason, the laws of the United States will likely never include or address every situation of ethical debate. That they seek to codify the national, state, and local values and morals held by the citizens therein—prioritizing the various kinds of rules in the spectrum on Figure 13.3—is both noble and problematic. As the number of laws that can be broken grows, the likelihood that those who break the law might not be aware they're doing so grows too. Ignorance about what constitutes an ethics violation is, unfortunately, all too common but it's no excuse for poor behavior.

Recognizing Ethical Dilemmas


Ethics violations can easily be obscured, and even intelligent individuals who intend to follow the rules and the law can wander into ethical mine fields. Like other human notions that mix logic and emotion—for example love or hope—notions of right and wrong can easily defy definition. Because they are subjective, it's impossible to clearly articulate what constitutes misconduct using a fully objective description or measure.

In the 1964 Supreme Court case *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, Justice Potter Stewart famously defined obscenity (in the context of pornography) by stating simply, "I know it when I see it." Stewart's assertion about the concept, which is admittedly difficult to define linguistically, was met with some criticism. His simple, candid words were certainly honest, but they subverted the impetus of the law to state itself clearly and plainly. Of course, Justice Potter's assertion was also easy to understand and identify with. Regardless of how one stands on whether pornography is right or wrong, most individuals would agree that they, too, know it when they see it. This is often the best litmus test for judging right from wrong when faced with an ethical dilemma.

As complex as ethics can seem in an academic setting, ultimately, most of tomorrow's public administrators will find it simple enough to trust their own moral compass to guide them. There are few hard and fast rules about ethics. Computers require precise instructions, which is part of the reason why the greatest computers in the world cannot fully simulate the human capacity for ethics (Somers 2013). Judging the difference between right and wrong may well be the single greatest barrier to the rise of an automaton class of androids and human-like computers. If a lack of self-awareness in societal contexts is what separates the smartest computers from humans today, then the path to furthering ethics in society and the public sector can likely be found in a deeper human introspection about self-awareness in the same contexts.

the Need for Self-Awareness

Ultimately, the ability to avoid a bad decision and the personal crisis that comes with it relies heavily on a



person's capacity to recognize that a decision is, or might, be bad, and to realize that there could, or will, be consequences as a result. Unintentional ethics violations have simply become more possible in the digital world, as has the likelihood that someone will find or share proof of them after the fact. What follows is an anecdote that illustrates the nuance of misconduct gray areas faced by government workers. This example is not meant to argue for or against the innocence of those involved, but rather to demonstrate that notions of right and wrong are complicated in contemporary society, especially where public funds are concerned.

A Team Building Retreat to Catalyze Productivity or Taxpayer Dollars Squandered?

On April 2, 2012, less than two years after taking the position, General Services Administration (GSA) chief Martha N. Johnson was forced to resign amid scandal (Rein and Davidson 2012).

GSA's scope is massive. The organization manages a broad swath of activities for the federal government, providing procurement services to federal agencies, maintaining government buildings and properties, and managing contracts, among other things. In 1999, when she was GSA chief of staff, Johnson described GSA to the publication *Fast Company* as a combination of Office Depot, Home Depot, an airline, and a real-estate agency (Sittenfeld 1999).


Johnson had been an accomplished leader with a knack for building the kinds of strong public and private sector organizational cultures that get things done (Rothman 2008). A former senior vice president of culture at IT firm Computer Sciences Corporation, a major contractor for GSA, Johnson had also been the vice president of the Council for Excellence in Government, a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving the effectiveness of federal, state, and local governments (AllGov.com 2010). So when Johnson took the helm at GSA, which had been plagued by scandal, many expected major changes for the organization; there were high hopes for a dramatic turnaround (Weigelt 2009).

Johnson viewed her charge as a chance to change GSA so dramatically that it set new standards in government as well as the private sector (SOM.Yale.Edu 2011). About a year after her appointment, she told a group at the Yale School of Management, from which she held a degree, "This is a fabulous place to be right now as we get to play with executive management notions . . . We're carrying an agenda that the GSA has never had before." To enact the change she had been brought in to accomplish, Johnson and her staffers apparently put together a corporate team building and educational retreat in Las Vegas, Nevada. Although this kind of hands-on cultural alignment was common in the private sector, it became a fatal misstep for Johnson and her career at GSA.

At the time of her resignation, *The Washington Post* reported that the retreat had involved public funds spending that included, among other things, "\$130,000 in travel expenses for six scouting trips . . . \$6,325 [spent] on commemorative coins in velvet boxes to reward all participants for their hard work on stimulus projects," and a "\$31,208 'networking' reception" featuring "\$7,000 of sushi" (Rein and Davidson 2012). What's worse, Johnson was publically lambasted for failing to follow the same contractor regulations for the conference that GSA was charged with developing for federal agencies (ibid.).

Ultimately, Johnson released a book titled *On My Watch: Leadership, Innovation, and Personal Resilience* (Clark 2013). At the time of the release, Johnson was quoted as saying, "I was shocked and stunned and I felt as if things had gone haywire . . . I also felt that politics were stepping in and there is just no way around that at times and we can see how that slams into performance" (ibid.).

It seems clear that Johnson was trying to create the kind of change at GSA that she felt she was hired to deliver. She was stepping out of line from the status quo purposefully and also doing what she felt was right, too. However, the corporate event her team put together was expensive and the fact that it broke procurement rules was unacceptable. In the court of public opinion, and in the eyes of many in government, her activities were unethical. The story stands as a great example of how gray ethics can be in



government.

Self-awareness doesn't always mean knowing something is clearly right or wrong, but rather recognizing where an activity or decision might *appear* unethical after the fact—even years later, as the previous example demonstrates the gray areas that public discourse about what's right and wrong can cross into. Tomorrow's public administrators need to stay current on contemporary ethics debates, including anecdotal ones debated in the press, in an effort to retain a sound perspective on what is expected of public sector employees.

Common Sources of Ethics Violations

After looking closely at this example of ethics violations with dire consequences, it might prove useful to consider a few of the most common, practical scenarios where tomorrow's public administrators should be on

the lookout for potential ethics violations. These scenarios all exist at the edges of perception about what's right and wrong. In many cases, they may not *feel* wrong, but they certainly can be wrong enough to result in major consequences.

Common Scenarios Where Ethics Violations Occur

Placing self-interest above public need.

Abusing special privileges and access to information.

Alteration of documents or financial records.

Lying to citizens, co-workers, vendors, or the public.

Misreporting hours.

Misusing public funds or resources.

Common Language Surrounding Ethics Violations

Although situations that involve these scenarios might seem obvious, sometimes the true nature of events may be obscured by other facts and goals that feel unquestionably right-minded. To help tomorrow's public administrators be prepared for situations likely to involve ethical gray areas that could prove dangerous, the following list identifies common phrases that might emerge in conversations about potentially unethical activities.

Common Excuses for Ethics Violations

No one will ever know! (obfuscation)

Everyone does it! (common activity)

I've covered my tracks! (disguise)

Who cares? (indifference)


This is just how we do it! (group think)

This is how we've done it in the past! (past practices)

It might feel wrong, but we've been above board! (transparency)

It's already in the budget! (managerial approval)

We're supposed to shake things up! (change imperatives)



It's our job to manage this kind of thing! (responsibility confusion)

Common Results of Ethics Violations

It is ultimately the responsibility of every public sector employee to know the bounds of ethics as they pertain to his or her station in public service, and to be aware of the negative scenarios that can result from ethics violations. These range from smudged reputations to incarceration, and having a general awareness of them can help tomorrow's public administrators understand the seriousness of their decisions and actions.

Common Consequences for Ethics Violations

Loss of respect and trust.

Censure or reprimand.

Reduction in rank or position.

Personal penalty in the form of fines and other costs.

Expulsion or firing.

Being black-listed as an unhirable public employee.


Incarceration in local, state, or federal correctional facilities.

Misconduct among public sector employees is taken seriously in the United States. Whether elected or appointed, public administrators are employed by the public to protect their interests and their funds. Overtly illegal and clearly unethical activities often carry the stiffest penalties because they stand in direct opposition to these responsibilities. On the other end of the spectrum, unintentional or even involuntary abuses of power and ethical missteps can also carry noteworthy penalties. Every person's reputation is a primary player in the legacy they leave behind. Once tarnished, a reputation can often never be repaired. But what about those people whose reputations become tarnished due to things they are completely blind to, even after the fact? How can these situations be spotted and prevented? These issues are often tied to themes of accessibility. The next section of this chapter touches on accessibility and takes a look at why and how it often hides in plain sight, playing a critical role in the unintentionally unethical realm of contemporary public ethics.

Accessibility in the Digital Age

The topic of accessibility has become a critical one in the digital age. This is because unintentional biases by government employees and organizations have become more likely in the digital world. It's simply too easy for public administrators to forget that nearly one-in-four of American citizens do not have the Internet at home and assume that a migration from paper processes to fully digital ones might be wholly positive where in fact it leaves many in critical need without access to government services (Pew Research 2013). This is the kind of scenario that the digital world has enabled—creating the risk for situations where unethical biases occur completely unintentionally, sometimes with dire consequences.

Unintentional accessibility issues didn't arise with the advent of Internet technologies. In fact, biases happen in private sector technologies surprisingly frequently. For example, the Microsoft Kinect interactive gaming system, which relies on facial recognition, has historically had trouble recognizing dark-skinned users (Sinclair 2010). This is a product of the fact that many image-recognition technologies have trouble differentiating dark-skinned people because they rely on light (ibid.). The result, in the case of the Kinect,



is that technological bias inherent in image-recognition technologies led to social bias on the part of the Kinect device (ibid.). Similarly, there's evidence to suggest that Apple's Siri voice recognition technology may have difficulty recognizing some accents because the technology was tested in settings where the software was never exposed to those accents (Zax 2011).


Unintentional accessibility issues in government are not a new phenomenon, either. For example, in the middle of the 1900s, urban planner Robert Moses influenced much urban design in and around New York City and the surrounding areas (Boyd 2014). When planning the parkways on Long Island, Moses designed overpasses and bridges that were too low to accommodate buses. Some have posited that the design limitations were intentional, while others have argued that they were accidental. Nonetheless, one thing is certain about Moses' design limitations regarding the parkways of Long Island—those who rely on public transportation in the form of buses were unable to benefit from the new parkways when they opened. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, as long as small groups of people make decisions in government that apply to much larger citizen bases, biases will continue to crop up. For this reason, avoiding unintentional ethics violations in the realm of access will continue to be an issue of awareness. Public administrators have an even greater responsibility than private companies to serve the widest set of users possible.

The Digital Divide

One arena where debates about accessibility and bias have unfolded involves the *Digital Divide*, a general notion dealing with the fact that, while some in society have access to a seemingly unending flow of information as a result of the Internet, many others do not have access to the Internet and therefore do not have access to the same mass of information. Study and analysis in this realm typically centers more broadly on information and communication technologies in general, though the Internet is certainly at the heart of the conversation. Policy makers began considering inequality in access to the Internet as early as 1995, when only 3 percent of Americans had been exposed to the web (Neckerman 2004). The digital divide impacts public policy, because while more Americans are online and consuming vast amounts of information many still are not—which diminishes the many growing opportunities for those not online to participate in civic engagement (ibid.). Where policy-making has been concerned, one thing working against the notion of the digital divide is that the term itself implies a single widening gap, where, in fact, there are many different gaps at play, some of which work to compound one another while others work to treat the problems of accessibility caused by one another.

The digital divide is a complex set of forces. Systems of categorization for the “haves” and the “have-nots” have spanned individuals to subgroups to whole nations, with correlations also being drawn between different groups and specific characteristics, such as race, geography, and income (ibid.). Discussions about the digital divide have also addressed different definitions of access, spanning from occasional Internet availability to clear cut adoption of Internet technologies, while also considering the myriad types of Internet-related technology that individuals, groups, and subgroups have access to, from web-connected televisions to tablet computers to wearable devices like Google Glass (ibid.).

No matter how you slice or define it, there is clearly a broad landscape of Internet-related scenarios for individuals to exist in today. Some have access while others do not. However literacy is defined, it has become obvious that some are technologically literate while others are technologically illiterate. Of course many in the technologically illiterate community are disconnected due to poverty and other causes beyond their control. But the simple truth is that many of the technologically illiterate are so by choice, too. These facts are incredibly relevant to tomorrow's public administrators, as are the inevitable strata that are unfolding and that will continue to unfold in the landscape of Internet-related scenarios for individual citizens. In some cases, it may not be possible to fully replace seemingly antiquated processes with digital ones. Duplicative efforts may simply be unavoidable.



In all its complexity, a number of notions about the digital divide seem to have been debunked as oversimplification of a complex problem in the first decade-and-a-half of the 21st century. The following list is not comprehensive, but it is included to help understand the kinds of oversimplified ideas about digital divide that have been explored as this global conversation has emerged.

General Misconceptions about the Digital Divide

Closing the digital divide is about giving poor people access to computers.

Getting the private sector to profitably serve the poor at the bottom of the pyramid is the sole answer to the digital divide.

Creating “shared use” of ICT products in the rural American country-side is the sole solution to the digital divide.

Closing the digital divide requires setting up a “super fund” that supports ICT projects.

The sole solution to closing the digital divide is investment in literacy and education.

Social entrepreneurs with IT skills must become the prime movers for closing the digital divide since they are able to introduce “disruptive technologies” to serve those without access.

If governments only open up their telecom sectors to foreign competition, market forces all by themselves will cause the digital divide to close.


On a very high level, it seems evident that the digital divide is “widening,” as more and more different individual possible scenarios for technological literacy arise with each new device and communication system. This is happening at an ever-increasing rate, and the division has historically correlated with socioeconomic dividing lines, but the division isn’t drawn exclusively across clear demographic lines. For every rule about the digital divide, there are certainly exceptions. Even the most basic trends seem to be wrought with complexities.

Moreover, it seems clear that ignoring society’s need to close the digital divide will result in inequality. Closing it by providing some level of base technological literacy to society may be the only way to make globalization work for the poor, though measuring technological literacy has proven difficult (Warschauer and Matuchniak 2010). Closing the digital divide is about empowerment and could be the only way to sustain the growth of world markets, because it would make the whole of the global economy a truly information-based economy.

World leaders from every sector can benefit from closing the digital divide, yet no one sector has the incentives to fully lead the effort to close it. It seems likely that closing the digital divide requires building an “enterprise ecosystem,” that offers “end to end” solutions for all people, but the practical application of this notion has proven evasive. Midlevel countries appear to be the best settings for experimentation, not the poorest countries, because extremely poor populations have more urgent needs—like health care, food, and shelter—although it seems possible that truly closing the digital divide could involve using new technologies to formalize the “informal economy,” thereby bringing the poor into established markets. All this in mind, the notion that the digital divide will be closed still seems very much in question at the time of this writing—many uncertainties remain. Tomorrow’s public administrators should take notice—the digital divide is something they are sure to confront.

The Future of Digital Ethics and Accessibility

Imagine a future in which the digital divide is closing but may never close entirely—after all, young



children and the poorest citizens may always be technologically illiterate. New programs have reversed the widening gap(s), arising from a variety of public, private, and nonprofit sources. Like problems of illiteracy in the United States in past decades, technological illiteracy is an issue society as a whole is working together to cure.

Public administrators and their employees still bump into ethical dilemmas and the world still reacts similarly to them, but there's much greater awareness about them—more of the ethical issues in government are intentional than unintentional. Still, temptation has been alleviated through new regulation and a heightened sense of awareness about consequences. Humans are still humans but fewer stumbling blocks go altogether unseen by those who slip up. Occasionally, major ethical lapses still take place and land in the headlines, but these occur more on the frontiers and in the grayest of gray areas. Strong leaders with sound moral compasses are setting new standards for ethics in government.

This future may still be far away and the imperfection of the human race may never be fully “cured,” but healthy public debates about notions of right and wrong are enabling progress already. Tomorrow's public administrators have an opportunity to carry that torch and use it to avoid personal career-landmines. In this realm, a perfect future may never be possible, but with clear eyes, full hearts, and heads brimming with awareness, tomorrow's public administrators are likely better prepared for success in ethics than any of their predecessors.

Discussion Questions

Why is ethical perfection in government likely an impossibility regardless of innovation and new technology?

How is technological advancement compounding the complexity of ethics for public administrators?

Why do codified rules for behavior like the OGE's Employee Standards of Conduct enable public employees to avoid ethical missteps?

Describe what the authors mean when they talk about “gray areas” in ethics.

Describe the continuum of ethics violations discussed in the chapter.

Describe the range of consequences that can result from ethics violations by public administrators. What is the digital divide?

Why does oversimplification of the digital divide pose such a large risk to progress in this arena?

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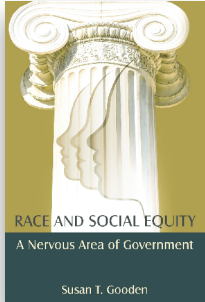
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US Office of Government Ethics. <http://www.oge.gov/>

Nervousness, Social Equity, and Public Administration

Chapter 6: Nervousness, Social Equity, and Public Administration



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Americans must face up to their dream and decide whether they really mean it to be a reality.

—Jennifer Hochschild (1995, xii)


What does it mean to be nervous? Nervousness has both emotional and physical characteristics. It may present itself differently from individual to individual. Some of us display outward signs of nervousness—our palms become sweaty, we start pacing or fidgeting, our hands start to tremble. Others may exhibit few outward signs, but we recognize the internal signals—we feel a knot in our stomach, our appetite changes, we find it difficult to focus—our body clearly communicates to us that we are no longer in a comfortable state. While individual markers of nervousness may vary, it is a common human characteristic. We all become nervous from time to time, and particularly in certain situations when we are afraid. Although nervousness is an emotional reaction we all experience, it becomes problematic when it begins to interfere with our ability to perform our daily tasks. Normally, we think of nervousness as an individual emotion. But what about nervousness in organizations?

In this book, I contend that social equity, specifically racial equity, is a nervous area of government. Over the course of history, this nervousness has stifled many individuals and organizations, leading to an inability to seriously advance the reduction of racial inequities in government. Until this nervousness is effectively managed, public administration efforts to reduce racial inequities cannot realize their full potential. For public administrators, nervousness or fear of addressing racial inequities within the services a public agency provides is problematic. It interferes significantly with the daily task of public agencies to provide governmental services in ways that align with our guiding democratic principles as set forth in the U.S. Constitution. As days turn into weeks, weeks into years, years into decades, and decades into centuries, the consequences of failing to address this nervous area of government—racial equity in the distribution and provision of services—are compounded in significant ways, with very real societal implications.

Issues of equity and justice are fundamental concerns of public administrators, who constantly struggle to evaluate the country's social climate and ensure equity in governance (Akram 2004). Such evaluation is unlikely to occur in a serious way if organizations are fundamentally too uncomfortable to directly engage the topic. The result is an important, taken for granted but unacknowledged, context of nervousness, which is debilitating to our public sector organizations and thwarting our progress toward achieving racial equity in governance.

A few years ago, I interviewed several senior administrators who were serving on a steering committee designed to examine racial disparities in Wisconsin's welfare program. The work of the steering committee was quite labor intensive, and the subject matter was sensitive. Essentially, a state agency was dissecting the presence of racial disparities in its welfare program. As I proceeded with coding the interviews, I was struck by the number of times respondents used the term “nervous” to express their disposition toward this examination of racial disparities within their agency. Stated directly, one senior administrator said, “Examining racial disparities is a nervous area of government.” This book offers a direct examination of this idea and its implications. What is a nervous area of government? How extensive are racial inequities in American society? How is the nervous area of government manifested in individuals and organizations? What can we learn from public sector organizations that are engaging in this nervousness work? What challenges remain in the path ahead? These are the questions that shape the foundation of this book and define its contribution to the field of public administration.

Race and Social Equity: A “Nervous Area of Government”




A primary contribution of this book is the introduction of the term “nervousness” into the lexicon of public administration. While the concept of nervousness has not been systematically examined in relationship to public sector organizations, it does have important conceptual lineage. Merton (1952, 364) discusses the “dysfunctions of bureaucracies” in which “the positive attainments and functions of bureaucratic organizations are emphasized and the internal stresses and strains of such structures are almost wholly neglected.” Similarly, Merton cautioned against “structural sources of overconformity” where trained incapacity is clearly derived from structural sources (366). In his seminal work discussing dynamics of bureaucracies, Blau (1963) addresses how unofficial norms of groups within bureaucracies can serve as a powerful force toward their acceptance by all members of the group, regardless of individual attitudinal differences; certain behaviors are concealed, particularly if such actions are shameful; questioning provokes hostility and emotional reactions; myths develop to explain conforming behavior; and ostracism becomes the enforcement penalty for violations of basic norms. Downs (1967) discusses the important concept of “biased” behavior affecting all public administrators. As he conceptualizes it, the four major biases that an official is subject to are (1) distorting the information he passes upward to superiors; exhibiting biased attitudes toward certain policies and alternative actions normally associated with his position; (3) a varying degree of compliance with directives, depending upon which ones he personally favors; and (4) a varying willingness to seek out additional responsibilities and assume risk within his position (77–78).

The conceptualization of racial and social equity, this nervous area of government, is grounded in an extended application of organizational justice. Issues involving organizational justice involve some person or group benefiting or harmed in a manner that is unfair. As Sheppard, Lewicki, and Minton (1992, 2) explain, “The justice phenomenon is pervasive in all organizations; however, justice is invisible until attention is focused on it by the experience or perception of injustice.” Much of the literature on organizational justice adopts a human resource management perspective that is largely focused on fairness concerns of employees. Such issues include employee recruitment and selection, employee conflict, employee compensation and promotion, and employee layoffs and downsizing (see, for example, Aram and Salipante 1981; Avery and Faley 1988; Clay-Warner, Hegtvædt, and Roman 2005; Ewing 1989; Feuille and Delaney 1992; Folger and Greenberg 1985; Greenberg and McCarty 1990; Tyler and Bies 1990). While these areas are important, understanding the nervous area of government involves an approach to organizational justice that is more systemic. It prioritizes the treatment and experiences of the public the organization serves. The dominant concern is how the organization provides public justice rather than solely internal, employee justice. Public justice is the larger organizational value within which issues of social equity reside. Although public justice is similar to social equity, the latter is more concerned with the actual delivery of public services, whereas the former is more value-oriented.

As the model in Figure 1.1 depicts, the nervous area of government is conceptualized by a structural approach that includes both internal and external dimensions. Understanding how the organization effectively or ineffectively provides public justice requires an examination of four core areas that operate within a context characterized by nervousness when racial equity is the focus. These four areas are the external environment; senior public administrators; public servants; and organizational values. All of these areas exist within an overall context of nervousness and influence its intensity within an organization.

External Environment

Motivators from the external environment often operate as the catalyst for examination of racial equity. Most external motivators originate from a political, legal, economic, or moral trigger. The political area includes racial-equity motivation provided by elected officials, when political candidates are elected on a specific platform or advance a specific racial-equity concern. Seattle’s Race and Social Justice Initiative, discussed in detail in chapter 7, was largely motivated in the political arena by former mayor Greg Nickels.



The legal area includes laws, regulations, court decisions, and/or litigation concerns advanced by advocacy groups. The examination of racial disparities in the sanctioning of welfare clients in Wisconsin (chapter 5) provides such an example, as it was prompted by a complaint filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Milwaukee Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Economic triggers advance racial-equity issues on an agency's agenda in monetary terms, such as a cost-benefit analysis, return on investment, behavioral incentives based on large funding sources, or improved overall organizational efficiency. As Norman-Major and Wooldridge assert, "A common focal point of research on the economic costs of social equity is the cost of poverty to society" (2011, 213). A Denver study on homelessness, for example, found that "The cost of services comes to about ten thousand dollars per homeless client per year. An efficiency apartment in Denver averages \$376 a month, or just over forty-five hundred a year, which means that you can house and care for a chronically homeless person for at most fifteen thousand dollars, or about a third of what he or she would cost on the street" (Gladwell 2006, 103).

Moral triggers that land racial-equity items on an agency's agenda include grassroots concerns, civic participation, media attention, or larger shifts in societal perspectives that wield organizational pressure. Legislation that was a direct result of the civil rights movement is an example of a moral trigger of racial equity. Within the model, these external triggers gain the attention of senior public administrators within the agency.


Senior Public Administrators

Senior public administrators largely operate as the concentrated source of tangible power within an agency. "Every organization has an individual or set of individuals at the top decision-making level who can exercise power simply by giving orders and making decisions" (Hall 1991, 137). They also control personnel and budgetary assets and their subsequent allocation within the agency. Although related, leadership and power are distinct. Leadership involves "the persuasion of individuals and innovativeness in ideas and decision making that differentiates leadership from the sheer possession of power" (137). As Selznick (1957) noted, the critical tasks of leadership involve four important tasks: definition of the institutional mission and role; institutional embodiment of purpose (e.g., deciding how the organization will use the means to achieve the desired ends); defense of the organization's integrity (which involves a mixture of organizational values and public relations); and provision of order to internal conflict (among individual employees or subgroups of employees).

Specific to racial equity, senior public administrators communicate important messages and allocate resources that influence the overall value of public justice and the administration of social equity. They operate as important translators of the external racial-equity triggers. Their actions influence nervousness intensity and largely determine the acceptable "racial analysis" boundaries within the agency.

Public Servants

Public servants include the bulk of the agency's employees—frontline staff, managers, and midlevel supervisors. In particular, actions of public servants involve daily implementation decisions that affect life-chances of the clients they serve and establish patterns of routine and service with important racial-equity consequences. As Lipsky explains, "They socialize clients to expectations of government services and a place in the political community. They determine the eligibility of citizens for government benefits and sanctions. They oversee the treatment (the service) clients receive in those programs. Thus, in a sense street-level bureaucrats implicitly mediate aspects of the constitutional relationship of citizens to the state. In short, they hold the keys to a dimension of citizenship" (1980, 4).



Policemen decide who to arrest and whose behavior to overlook. Judges decide who shall receive a suspended sentence and who shall receive maximum punishment. Teachers decide who will be suspended and who will remain in school, and they make subtle determinations about who is teachable. Perhaps the most highly refined example of street-level bureaucratic discretion comes from the field of corrections. Prison guards conventionally file injurious reports on inmates whom they judge to be guilty of “silent insolence.” Clearly what does or does not constitute a dirty look is a matter of some subjectivity. This is not to say that street-level workers are unrestrained by rules, regulations, and directives from above, or by the norms and practices of their occupational group ... [however] professionals are expected to exercise discretionary judgment in their field. They are regularly deferred to in their specialized areas of work and are relatively free from supervision by superiors or scrutiny by clients. (Lipsky 1980, 13–14)

Racial-equity analysis of patterns of service within an agency is an important dimension of the nervous area of government. It is largely affected by socialization processes within the agency about acceptable and unacceptable behavior. It is both fueled by and provides fuel for core organizational values.

Organizational Values

While the other three identified areas are important factors in understanding the nervous area of government, organizational values are the single most important factor. All organizations have cultures that largely establish and maintain their hierarchy of values, such as efficient, effectiveness, quality, citizen participation, and innovation. These values are directly and indirectly communicated within the agency. They define organizational tolerance for racial-equity analysis and its associated acceptable boundaries. These values also affect the elevation and decline of overall nervousness intensity within the organization. The value of public equity largely defines the extent to which racial equity is discussed, administered, advanced, ignored, or evaluated. While racial-equity work can occur through multiple strategies—including, for example, audit studies, statistical analysis, Geographical Information System (GIS) mapping, qualitative assessments of program implementation, and other performance measures—the clear marker of this work is the occurrence of racial-equity conversations within the agency. If racial equity is a clear value of the organization, it is evidenced by related written and verbal communication. (Chapters 3 and 4 examine the nervousness of race talk at individual and organizational levels, respectively.) The nervous area of government is how an organization considers, examines, promotes, distributes, and evaluates the provision of public justice in areas such as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, class, and ability status. This area is “nervous” because examination of such areas has an emotional historical or societal context. It is “of government” because public administrators are responsible for providing services to the public at large, which includes minority groups in each of these areas. It is also “of government” because agencies have both a historical and present-day record in how equitably their services have been provided to these groups. The degree to which this record is open for internal as well as public examination and discussion is also influenced by nervousness.

Additionally, the nervous area of government operates largely on a continuum. When the nervousness intensity is low, this typically signals that the organization is very minimally engaged in these topics as it delivers public services. When the nervousness intensity is high, this usually is a sign that the organization is in the early stages of engaging in these types of analysis. It is a new area of focus for the organization or one that has not recently been seriously considered. While high intensity is expected, especially in the initial stages as the culture of the organization is changing, it cannot be sustained for years. Either it will be ineffectively managed, and the organization will largely return to a low-intensity state; or it will be effectively managed, and the organization will operate in a moderate-intensity state. Moderate intensity is desirable over the long term, because racial-equity analysis remains a vital component of the organization’s core values, but it is also a level that facilitates productive and effective delivery of equity in the provision of public services.

Why Focus on Race?

Issues of social equity are not exclusive to race. Gender, class, sexual orientation, religion, and disability embody important social-equity dimensions as well. The premise of this book is not to engage in oppression olympics by ranking group inequities relative to one other. Rather, it conceptualizes the idea of a nervous area of government by focusing on the specific area of race. Race and social equity is best understood as *a* nervous area of government, not *the* nervous area of government.

However, the racial-equity component within social equity produces considerable nervousness, which is why this book focuses exclusively on race. Examining issues of race is fundamental to understanding important short-comings in America's philosophical commitment to justice. In delivering his famous speech, "To the Nations of the World," W. E. B. Du Bois poignantly stated, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair—will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization" (1900, 85).

Racial inequality remains a fundamental concern today.

Nearly a century and a half after the destruction of the institution of slavery, and a half-century past the dawn of the civil rights movement, social life in the United States continues to be characterized by significant racial stratification. Numerous indices of wellbeing—wages, unemployment rates, income and wealth levels, ability test scores, prison enrollment and crime victimization rates, health and mortality statistics—all reveal substantial racial disparities. (Loury 2002, 4)


All of these areas are shaped or influenced by public administration.

Throughout this book, I employ Loury's definition of race: "a cluster of inheritable bodily markings carried by a largely endogamous group of individuals, markings that can be observed by others with ease, that can be changed or misrepresented only with great difficulty, and that have come to be invested in a particular society as a given historical movement with social meaning" (2002, 20–21). As he further explains, "What is 'essential' here is that these physical traits are taken to signify something of import within a historical context" (21).

It is important to attend to racial stigma in American political culture because, in general, people do not freely give the presumption of equal humanity. Only philosophers do that, and may God love them! But the rest of us tend to ration the extent to which we will presume an equal humanity of our fellows. One cannot necessarily count on getting the benefit of that presumption. So in an industrial society of nearly three hundred million people with a history going back centuries, what happens when tens of millions of those people cannot in every situation of moral reflection and significant public deliberation rely upon being extended the presumption of equal humanity? (Loury 2002, 87)

Historical and contemporary racial disparities are grounded in structural racism. The concept of structural racism was largely developed by John A. Powell and researchers from the Kirwan Institute, the Applied Research Center, the Harvard Civil Rights Project, the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, the Institute for Race and Poverty, and the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity. Structural racism refers to the many factors that work to produce and maintain racial inequities in America today. It identifies aspects of our history and culture that have allowed the privileges associated with "whiteness" and the disadvantages associated with "color" to endure and adapt within the political economy over time. It also points out the ways in which public policies, institutional practices, and cultural representations reproduce racially inequitable outcomes. (Aspen Institute, 1)

Structural racism research involves "a cross section of academics, advocates, practitioners, civil rights



leaders and social policy analysts to highlight current racial disparities, explain why race continues to be such a potent predictor of socioeconomic well-being, and identify the implications for policy and practice” (Kubisch 2006, 1).

Structural racism is largely concerned with “discrimination in contract” as opposed to “discrimination in contact.” Discrimination in contact refers to “the unequal treatment of otherwise like persons on the basis of race in the execution of formal transactions—the buying and selling of goods and services, for instance, or interactions with organized bureaucracies, public and private” (Loury 2002, 95). Discrimination in contract is the standardization of racial bias through public and private structures. Comparatively, discrimination in contact refers to “the unequal treatment of persons on the basis of race in the associations and relationships that are formed among individuals in social life, including the choice of social intimates, neighbors, friends, heroes, and villains. It involves discrimination in the informal, private spheres of life” (Loury 2002, 96).

Analyzing discrimination in contact involves understanding five dominant contexts that embody structural racism As explained by Kubisch (2006, 3):

The values context that allows Americans to operate with the mind-set that we live in an equal opportunity nation, where everyone has a chance for self-improvement and where lack of success is due to flaws in individual ability and effort.

The knowledge context that normalizes racial inequities and allows Americans to accept statistics about disproportionality in, for example, the educational or criminal justice systems as “just the way things are.”

The cultural context that permits racialized images and stereotypes to persist in the media.

The psychological context that reinforces a sense of entitlement on the part of the white population and a sense of “non-entitlement” and low societal expectations on the part of people of color.

The political context in which power is exercised in ways that sustain white privilege.

Structural racism expands upon institutional racism by recognizing the cumulative effects of social inequity across organizations that compound and reinforce one another in particularly real ways. By comparison, “Institutional racism can be prescribed by formal rules but depends, minimally, on organizational cultures that tolerate such behaviors. Racist institutional decisions neither require nor preclude the participation of racist individuals” (Grant-Thomas and Powell 2006, 4). While structural racism is similar to institutional racism in that individual racial attitudes are not the target, it offers a more expansive framework. As Grant-Thomas and Powell (2006) explain,

The [institutional racism] framework fails to account for the ways in which the joint operations of social institutions produce important outcomes. This is a crucial gap, for it is often the interaction between institutions, rather than the operation of each in isolation, that generates racial group disparities.

... Structural racism emphasizes the powerful impact of inter-institutional dynamics, institutional resource inequities, and historical legacies on racial inequalities today. (2006, 4)

A fundamental approach within structural racism is that any systematic, intentional promotion of racial equity must include race-conscious action. In particular, color-blind approaches to issues of race are ineffective.

It implies, for example, that an end to formal discrimination against blacks in this post-civil rights era should in no way foreclose a vigorous public discussion about racial justice. More subtly, elevating racial equality above race-blindness as a normative concern inclines us to think critically, and with greater nuance, about the value of race-blindness. ... It obscures from view the most vital matter at stake in the contemporary debate on race and social equity—whether public purposes formulated explicitly in racial

terms (that is, violating race-indifference) are morally legitimate, or even morally required. (Loury 2002, 139–40)

Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres offer a similar assessment: “We concluded that the colorblind paradigm has led to paralysis rather than action” (2002, 37). They further write, “[W]e argue, as a practical matter, that it is impossible to be colorblind in a world as color-conscious as ours. Moreover, efforts to be colorblind are undesirable because they inhibit racialized minorities from struggling against their marginalized status” (2002, 42). As Bonilla-Silva explains, “Much as Jim Crow racism served as the glue for defending a brutal and overt system of racial oppression in the pre–Civil Rights era, color-blind racism serves today as the ideological armor for a covert and institutionalized system in the post–Civil Rights era. And the beauty of this new ideology is that it aids in the maintenance of white privilege without fanfare, without naming those who it subjects and those who it rewards. (2003, 3–4)

In essence, “ideological colorblindness inhibits the kind of democratic engagement necessary for confronting some of the most deeply entrenched problems facing our society” (Guinier and Torres 2002, 37). Addressing these entrenched inequities requires public administrators to directly confront the nervous area of government.

Social Equity, Public Administration, and Notions of American Democracy

Social equity is directly related to the democratic principle of justice. It is the concept of fairness applied to all, not just select groups. In some instances, achieving justice requires treating everyone the same; in other cases it means treating groups differently based upon current and/or past inequities. The implementation of justice is context-based—determining what is fair is dependent upon understanding a complex array of historical, political, and social factors. “The ‘social’ aspect of equity means that public administrators are particularly attentive to differences in fairness and justice based on important social characteristics” (Johnson and Svava 2011, 17).

It is important for public administrators to deliver public services in fair and just ways. This idea is rarely opposed in principle; however, implementation has often fallen short. “Despite the long-standing commitment to fairness as an administrative principle, administrators must be humbled by the realizations that they contributed to the discrepancy and in many places helped to institute inequality in the past by enforcing discriminatory laws and using their broad discretion to advance exclusionary social mores” (Smith 2002).

Although specific definitions of social equity vary somewhat, they all share a common core of justice and fairness. H. George Frederickson (1974) identifies several specific considerations of social equity as:

The basis for a just democratic society,

Influencing the behavior of organizational man,

The legal basis for distributing public services,


The practical basis for distributing public services,

Understood in compound federalism, and

A challenge for research and analysis.

Shafritz and Russell define social equity as: “Fairness in the delivery of public services; it is egalitarianism in action—the principle that each citizen, regardless of economic resources or personal traits, deserves and has a right to be given equal treatment by the political system” (2002, 395).

In 2000, the National Academy of Public Administration’s Board of Trustees authorized a Standing Panel on



Social Equity. This panel defined social equity as “[t]he fair, just, and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract, and the fair and equitable distribution of public services, and implementation of public policy, and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in the formation of public policy” (National Academy of Public Administration 2000).

This same panel developed four criteria for measuring equity: procedural fairness, access, quality, and outcomes.

Procedural fairness involves the examination of problems or issues of procedural rights (due process), treatment in a procedural sense (equal protection), and the application of eligibility criteria (equal rights) for existing policies and programs. . . . Practices such as failure to provide due process before relocating low-income families as part of an urban renewal project, using racial profiling to identify suspects, or unfairly denying benefits to a person who meets eligibility criteria all raise obvious equity issues.

Access—distributional equity—involves a review of current policies, services, and practices to determine the level of access to services/benefits and analysis of reasons for unequal access. . . . Equity can be examined empirically—do all persons receive the same service and the same quality of service (as opposed to the procedural question of whether all are treated the same according to distributional standards in an existing program or service)—or normatively—should there be a policy commitment to providing the same level of service to all?

quality—process equity—involves a review of the level of consistency in the quality of existing services delivered to groups and individuals. . . . For example, is garbage pickup the same in quality, extent of spillage or missed cans, in all neighborhoods? Do children in inner-city schools have teachers with the same qualification as those in suburban schools?

Outcomes involve an examination of whether policies and programs have the same impact for all groups and individuals served. Regardless of the approach to distribution and the consistency of quality, there is not necessarily a commitment to an equal level of accomplishment or outcomes. . . . Equal results equity might conceivably require that resources be allocated until the same results are achieved . . . a critical issue in consideration of equity at this level is how much inequality is acceptable and to what extent government can and should intervene to reduce the inequality in results. (Johnson and Svava 2011, 20–22)


Although the concept of equity can be traced back centuries to Aristotle and Plato, Rutledge (2002) points out that a specific focus on social equity within public administration began in earnest in the 1960s.

My scholarly friends in the profession can trace our current thoughts and dilemmas around social equity back to Aristotle and Plato. Others would stop at Woodrow Wilson’s seminal writings on the study of public administration. But in my own mind, I trace the “invention” of social equity as a practical tool in public administration to the Minnowbrook conferences convened by Dwight Waldo, George Frederickson, and a group of young Turks in the 1960s. (Rutledge 2002)

Against the national 1960s context focused on civil rights, racial inequality, and injustice, the young Minnows noted: “A government built on a Constitution claiming the equal protection of the laws had failed in that promise. Public administrators, who daily operate the government, were not without responsibility” (Frederickson 1990, 228). Reflecting in 2005, Frederickson recalled, “It was during the 1960s that it became increasingly evident that

the results of governmental policy and the work of public administrators implementing those policies were much better for some citizens than for others” (2005, 31).

As Wooldridge and Gooden (2009) contend, the Minnowbrook I conference served as the foundational basis of the New Public Administration. Three major works are generally identified with the New Public Administration: Frank Marini’s *Toward a New Public Administration* (1971), Dwight Waldo’s *Public*



Administration in a Time of Turbulence (1971), and a 1971 article titled “Creating Tomorrow’s Public Administration” (Frederickson 1980). The New Public Administration rejected the idea that administrators are value neutral and recognized a constellation of five normative core values that, although legitimate, can often be conflictual. These values are responsiveness, worker and citizen participation in decision making, social equity, citizen choice, and administrative responsibility (Frederickson 1980). “A primary managerial means to achieve social equity includes a managerial commitment to the principle that majority rule does not overturn minority *rights* to equal public services” (Frederickson 1980, 47, emphasis in original). The link between the New Public Administration and social equity is so strong that Shafritz and Russell define the New Public Administration as: “An academic advocacy movement for social equity in the performance and delivery of public service; it called for a proactive administrator with a burning desire for social equity to replace the traditional impersonal and neutral gun-for-hire bureaucrat” (2002, 466).

Frederickson (1990) wrote that he developed the theory of social equity in the late 1960s to remedy a glaring inadequacy in both thought and practice. He suggested that this concept should be a “third pillar” for public administrators, a concept that holds the same status as economy and efficiency values to which public administrators should adhere. As Frederickson explained, “It is time for public administrators of all kinds to ask the so called second question. The first question is whether an existing public program or proposed program is effective or good. The second question is more important. For whom is this program effective or good?” (2005, 36).


The answer to Frederickson’s second question requires consideration of how opportunity is structured in the United States. Social structures, including public bureaucracies, are important transmitters of opportunity. “[They] promote racially inequitable distributions of social, political and economic goods and services even in the absence of avowed ‘racists’; even absent self-sabotaging behavior by racial minorities, and notwithstanding the play of macroeconomic, cultural and other large-scale factors. Any promising attempt to dismantle the underpinning of durable racial inequality must account for structural dynamics” (Grant-Thomas and powell 2006, 4).

There is a troubling disconnect between how terms like “opportunity” and “success” are conceptualized and how they operate in practice. Consider, for example, the American Dream. As Hochschild (1995) explains, the American Dream consists of fundamental tenets about achieving success (general defined as the attainment of a high income, a prestigious job, economic security). Success can be absolute, meaning a threshold of well-being is reached; success can be relative, meaning being better off than a comparison point; or success can be competitive, meaning achieving victory over someone else.

The premise of the American Dream rests on several tenets, including:

there is an equal opportunity to participate and the ability to start over;

there is a reasonable anticipation of success; and (3) success is under one’s individual control. “The first tenet, that everyone can participate equally and can always start over, is troubling to the degree that it is not true. . . . For most of American history, women of any race and men who were Native American, Asian, black or poor were barred from all but a narrow range of ‘electable futures’” (Hochschild 1995, 26). Fulfillment of the second tenet requires “enough resources and opportunities that everyone has a reasonable chance of having some expectations met” (27). The third tenet directly stipulates success as controlled by individual actions and behaviors. “Americans who do everything they can and still fail may come to understand that effort and talent alone do not guarantee success. But they have a hard time persuading others. After all, they are losers—why listen to them? Will we not benefit more by listening to winners (who seldom challenge the premise that effort and talent breed success)?” (30). Certainly, in the research realm, there have been studies ad nauseam on individual deficits and ineffective behaviors. By comparison, the larger structures in which these policies operate are far less frequently analyzed. The individual approach leads “one to focus on people’s behaviors rather than on economic processes, environmental constraints, or



political structures, as the causal explanation for social orderings” (36). Employing a structural approach requires us to first acknowledge and understand the nervous area of government, which is the focus of this book.

Conclusion

This book is presented by first examining the intersection of race and social equity in public administration, as well as the saturation of racial inequities in the United States. It then applies the concept of nervousness in an individual and organizational basis. I contend that social equity is a nervous area of government, especially where issues of race are concerned. Further, I argue that organizational nervousness needs to be effectively managed in order for governmental agencies to proactively address social inequities.

Through an examination of contemporary examples at the federal, state, and local level, the book profiles organizations that are directly operating in the nervous area of government. Their approaches provide useful insight for how organizations may begin to effectively undertake this work. Akin to nervousness in individuals, nervousness in organizations cannot be completely eliminated, but it can be significantly reduced. It also considers the role of (and the increased need for) accountability and performance measures in assessing organizational progress.

Finally, the book examines other important contexts for understanding the nervous area of government, including public administration programs as well as comparative, global challenges. It concludes by presenting core principles to equip public administrators to better navigate the nervous area of government.

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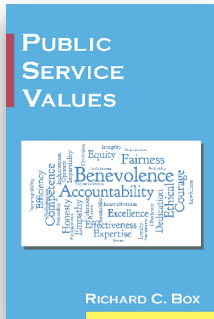
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Public Service Values Today

Chapter 7: Public Service Values Today



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SOURCES OF PUBLIC SERVICE VALUES

In part, public service values originate in the daily work of service delivery, when public professionals reflect on the ideas, judgments, and emotions underlying their decisions and actions. Values also come from the environment of public administration, as elected leaders and citizens think about the relationship of the public sector to society and what they want it to achieve. We may become especially aware of values when they appear in the publications of professional organizations and in articles and books written by researchers in the field.

Discussion of public service values can be found in many places. Though we should make an effort to find as many important public service values as we can, this does not require an exhaustive review of articles, books, websites, and so on. Instead, we can identify several key sources of public service values and search for commonalities, values that practitioners and academicians in public affairs think are especially useful.

The first source to be discussed is research that inventories values or surveys public professionals to discover what is important to them. This material brings us close to knowing which values influence daily practice and the conduct of public organizations. There are five more source categories discussed in this chapter. Immediately following values identified in research studies, we turn to the sort of value typologies described in Chapter 1 with the work of Montgomery Van Wart and Charles Goodsell, and then examine administrative ethics, democracy, codes of ethics, and the accreditation standards of the Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration.


STUDIES OF PUBLIC SERVICE VALUES

Drawing from books and articles on ethics and values, Zeger Van der Wal and Leo Huberts (2008) identified a set of values to use in a large survey of Dutch managers in public and private organizations. They found clear differences and also considerable agreement between people in the two sectors; the managers' rank ordering of the importance of values is especially interesting.

Respondents in both sectors found nine values to be "relatively important": accountability, dedication, effectiveness, expertise, honesty, incorruptibility, lawfulness, reliability, and transparency (273). Public-sector managers emphasized these values: incorruptibility, accountability, honesty, lawfulness, reliability, effectiveness, expertise, and transparency (274). The top values for private-sector managers were reliability, honesty, expertise, incorruptibility, effectiveness, accountability, efficiency, profitability, lawfulness, transparency, innovativeness, and dedication (275).

Though some values overlapped the two sectors, there were also differences that fit classic sectoral characterizations. As Van der Wal and Huberts put it, "at the core of government and business differences seem to be impartiality and incorruptibility (public), and profit-ability and innovativeness (private), although it should be noted that incorruptibility received high rates in companies as well" (276).

Torben Beck Jørgensen and Barry Bozeman (2007) examined public administration periodicals from the United States, United Kingdom, and Scandinavian countries published between 1990 and 2003, identifying values in seven categories. These categories included, for example, the relationship between public administrators and their environment, the relationship between public administrators and politicians, and the behavior of public-sector employees. This research dealt only with values discussed in the public sector and the values are not rank ordered, but there are parallels with the values ranked highly by public managers in the Van der Wal and Huberts study. Accountability, honesty, lawfulness rule of law, reliability, effectiveness, and expertise/professionalism appear in both studies. In addition, Jørgensen and Bozeman's survey of values in the research literature found additional values worth considering, such as public



interest, human dignity, democracy, citizen involvement, justice, and friendliness.

In a survey and interviews with fifty-two state and local public professionals in the Midwest, Anthony Molina and Cassandra McKeown (2012) began with twenty values that had been used earlier by Van der Wal and Huberts. They added five values adapted from the *Code of Ethics* of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) and five taken from an article written by Kenneth Kernaghan (2003). The people who participated in the survey included city managers, finance officers, public school superintendents, law enforcement administrators, and others in local government. State government participants were from health and human services, education, transportation, and other service areas.

One of the tasks Molina and McKeown gave respondents was to name the five values of the list of thirty that were most important in their work. Figure 2.1 shows the results, with the numbers on the right side of the bars showing how many times each value was rated in the top five. Honesty was chosen most often as an important value, followed by integrity, accountability, and dedication, then reliability and expertise. (Definitions for the values in the study are given in Appendix A.) These values describe traditional characteristics of the role played by public professionals in a democratic society, rather than policy preferences, outcome and performance measures, or interactions with others in a network.

Values we often connect with the market paradigm of New Public Management (NPM) (sometimes called “running government like a business”), such as efficiency, innovativeness, and profitability, were not chosen as frequently. The same is true of values we would associate with intersectoral (network) and participatory governance, such as participativeness (involving citizens in administrative decision making), representativeness (acting according to citizens’ values), and pluralism (accommodating a diverse citizenry).

It should be noted that participants rated twenty-six of the thirty values as “usually important” in a separate set of questions in which the four choices were unimportant, sometimes important, Honesty Integrity Accountability Dedication Reliability Expertise Lawfulness Impartiality Effectiveness Serviceability Incorruptibility Humaneness Efficiency Courage Benevolence Transparency Org. interest Inclusiveness Public Interest Participative Innovativeness Sustainability Responsiveness usually important, or always important (Molina and McKeown 2012, 379). Four values were at the bottom of this ranking, with average scores in the “sometimes important” range: participative, sustainability, self-interest, and, in the last position, profitability. This is just a single small study. Research involving different professional specializations, level of government, level of employees in a hierarchy, geographic areas, or numbers of participants could produce quite different results. Even so, studies such as these three and others provide a set of public service values to work with in more detail. They tell us there are values that are recognized as important in public service and that people have identified, discussed, and conducted research about them.

An interesting cross-national study of public service values was conducted by Lijing Yang and Zeger Van der Wal, who administered a survey followed by interviews of public affairs students (many of whom were practicing public professionals) in China and the Netherlands. Using a set of twenty-five values, the researchers asked respondents to identify ideal public service values they think important and actual values that make a difference in their daily work. Of the ideal values, “six of the top ten values for both groups were shared: lawfulness, expertise, people-oriented, impartiality, incorruptibility, and responsibility” (Yang and Van der Wal 2014, 196).

Given the contrasting cultures, some differences are to be expected; they appeared with values such as transparency, ranked first by the Dutch respondents and fifteenth by the Chinese. Reliability was ranked third by the Dutch and twenty-second in China (197). However, values that could be considered “Confucian,” such as “righteousness, incorruptibility, and honesty appeared among the top ten ideal type values for the Netherlands but not in the top ten for China” (197). At the same time, “Chinese civil servants prioritized professional and law-based values such as efficiency, effectiveness, equality, and accountability, whereas

some of these were (relatively) less important in the Netherlands” (197).

In comparison to the ranking of ideal values, Yang and Van der Wal found greater value differences between the Chinese and Dutch respondents in values actually important in daily work life. There were four highly ranked actual values common to the two groups: lawfulness, efficiency, effectiveness, and expertise. However, the most important value was different in China and the Netherlands, with obedience chosen in China and effectiveness in the Netherlands (197). The authors found that actual values important to the Chinese respondents are “quite Confucian” and those important to the Dutch are “more Western” (197). Though obedience, loyalty, and diligence were not in the top ten ideal values chosen by the Chinese, they were in their top ten of actual values in use (197).

Differences between the two sets of respondents also appeared in the values identified as least important. For the Chinese, the least important values were courage, propriety, efficiency, transparency, and innovativeness. The least important values for the Dutch were courage, obedience, innovativeness, responsiveness, and social justice (197). It is interesting that despite the discussion of NPM in China, efficiency and innovativeness were among the least important values for the Chinese respondents.

Another part of the survey, which asked questions about issues of “professional morality,” also revealed differences and similarities between the Chinese and Dutch participants. The Chinese “showed more loyalty toward their superiors than the Dutch respondents” and “considered personal relationships to be more crucial for their career development.” However, both sets of respondents “equally valued personal morals as more important than rules or regulations” (200).

The commonalities and differences found in this study show the complexity of the interaction of culture and values globally. Yang and Van der Wal found that “Chinese respondents increasingly appreciate the Western professional civil service ethos, but their actual value preferences show more traditional differences.” Also, “a considerable number of Confucian values were highly ranked by Dutch respondents, and they too value self-cultivation and personal morality as elements in their professional ethos” (202). Though the Dutch and Chinese cultures are very different and this study found some interesting differences in public service values, the similarities across cultures were notable as well.

VALUE TYPOLOGIES


In the section discussing “five values themes in public service” in Chapter 1, two examples are given of ways to organize and describe public service values. One is Montgomery Van Wart’s (1998) framework of individual values, professional values, organizational values, legal values, and public interest values. The other is Charles Goodsell’s (1989) “value orientations” (the “Five M’s”): a means orientation, a morality orientation, a multitude orientation, a market orientation, and a mission orientation.

Here are two more value typologies that offer interesting perspectives. Kenneth Kernaghan (2003, 712) suggests that public service values could be organized in four categories, as shown in Table 2.1.

Kernaghan’s Categories of Public Service Values

Ethical Democratic Professional People Integrity Fairness Rule of law Neutrality Effectiveness Efficiency Caring Fairness Accountability Loyalty Excellence Respect Honesty Probity Accountability Loyalty Openness Responsiveness

Representativeness Legality Service Leadership Excellence Innovation Quality Creativity Tolerance Decency Compassion Courage Benevolence Humanity This value set is not unlike the one used by Molina and McKeown, though there are some additional entries, notably those values in the category “People.” Humaneness, benevolence, and social justice appear in the Molina and McKeown list; Kernaghan’s list adds caring, fairness, tolerance, decency, and compassion. Taken together, the two lists show considerable



attention to social conditions and humane administrative behavior. Kernaghan's four categories seem to capture especially important dimensions of public sector practice: acting ethically, paying attention to the role of the public service practitioner in a democratic society, serving in a professional manner, and caring about the effects of administrative action on the public.

Gene Brewer, Sally Coleman Selden, and Rex Facer (2000) created a unique characterization of the service motivations of public professionals. They described four role categories for these motivations: *Samaritans*, *communitarians*, *patriots*, and *humanitarians*. The authors asked sixty-nine local, state, and federal employees in several states to rate how strongly they agreed with several statements related to public service motivation. The study participants worked in "administration (accounting, budgeting, personnel, etc.), agriculture, education, finance, health care, human services, law enforcement, recreation, sanitation, transportation, and the military" (256). With interview results in hand, the researchers used a statistical technique to identify the four categories of values and they gave them names that capture the reader's attention. Here are descriptions of each category, in the words of the authors, beginning with Samaritans.

[Samaritans] . . . are strongly motivated to help other people. They see themselves as guardians of the underprivileged and are moved emotionally when they observe people in distress. (258–259)

[Communitarians are] . . . motivated and stirred by sentiments of civic duty and public service. . . . Communitarians believe there is a unique connection between public servants and citizens. According to this group, public service is "one of the highest forms of citizenship"—an avenue by which a person can serve his or her community and country. (259)

Patriots act for causes much bigger than themselves . . . , protecting, advocating, and working for the good of the public. As Buchanan (1975, 425–427) suggested, this group has a unique sense of loyalty to duty; they put "duty before self. . ." Not only is duty more important than self, but individuals in this group "would risk personal loss to help someone else. . ." These individuals see themselves as guardians of the people, placing their obligation and responsibility to the public ahead of their loyalty to superiors and their own needs. (259–260)

Humanitarians are motivated by a strong sense of social justice and public service. . . . Like Samaritans, this group values many public causes and programs and views government as a vehicle for making society fair. . . . While humanitarians are touched by the plight of the underprivileged, their welfare concerns are more societal than Samaritans. . . . They believe that if any group is excluded from society's prosperity, the entire society is worse off. (260)

These four public service motivation types contain values that connect with the other lists and typologies we have discussed. Samaritans are interested in values found in Kernaghan's "People" column, such as caring, compassion, benevolence, and humanity. Communitarians value the public interest (identified by Molina and McKeown), patriots value loyalty and duty, and humanitarians focus on social justice and fairness.

In an article asserting the importance of values in public affairs degree programs, Rebekkah Stuteville and Laurie DiPadova-Stocks (2011) developed a typology of values drawn from the work of several authors, including some of those discussed above. In highlighting the commonalities in these studies, they wrote that "the shared values include integrity, representativeness, effectiveness, efficiency, and due process of law, as well as many others" (594). Given their examination of studies on public service values, Stuteville and DiPadova-Stocks concluded that "there appears to be at least implicit agreement on the core values in the discipline of public administration and the field of public service" (594). So, whether it is because the people conducting research on public service values are discussing them with one another or because there are indeed key values in use in public organizations, there is a measure of agreement on what those values are.

VALUES AND ADMINISTRATIVE ETHICS

When people think about ethics in the public sector, often what comes to mind is the personal misbehavior of elected leaders, the sort of scandals that are featured in the 24/7 media cycle and that give comedians material for jokes on television. In public administration, though, ethics is only partially about “right and wrong,” and only rarely is it about personal misbehavior. Though taking care to avoid conflict of interest, misuse of government resources, and behavior that damages the reputation of one’s organization are important, administrative ethics focuses mostly on the grounds for deciding what to do and how to do it.

In a complex democratic society, people who work in the public sector balance competing demands and may function to facilitate decision making among groups and individuals rather than acting on their own. This broad societal framework shapes the administrative role, which consists of the expectations held by organizational coworkers and superiors, peers in other organizations, elected leaders, and citizens for how public service practitioners carry out their responsibilities. With that understanding of the administrative role in mind, any of several sources of ethical guidance may be used in choosing a course of action.

Ethics in public administration is a large field of writing, re- search, and practice, too large to present here beyond sketching its relevance for public service values. James Svara’s (2015) three- part characterization of philosophical approaches to ethics in the public and nonprofit sectors summarizes important ethical values in a way that can be of help. The three approaches are *virtue*, *principle*, and *consequences*; in the language of ethics, principle is “deontological” and consequential ethics are “teleological.”

Virtue ethics are intuitive: “one grasps in a holistic way what a good person would do in a given situation,” and “the virtuous person manifests and acts on the characteristics that mark one as a person of character and integrity” (Svara 2015, 61). Michael Josephson (2006) describes “six pillars of character,” with related values. The pillars (shown in *italics*) and related values are as follows:

Trustworthiness, with honesty, integrity, reliability (promise keeping), and loyalty;

Respect, with civility, courtesy, and decency;

Responsibility, with accountability, pursuit of excellence, and self-restraint;


Fairness, with consistency, equality, openness, due process, impartiality, and equity;

Caring, with causing no more harm than necessary, and benevolence; and

Citizenship, with civic virtues and duties.

Clearly, there are overlaps here with the findings in studies of public service values and in value typologies. Svara points out that virtue ethics have advantages and disadvantages; advantages include “easy accessibility to ethical standards” (63) and the emphasis on goodness, which everyone can support. Disadvantages include the problem of putting virtues into action and the problem of balancing virtues against accountability and the directives of superiors and elected leaders.

Administrative ethics based on principle uses predetermined concepts to guide ethical choice. There are a number of potential sources for ethical principles, including laws, the Constitution, and generally agreed-upon principles such as truth telling and justice (Svara 2015, 66–69). Drawing from the work of David Rosenbloom, Svara (68–69) notes constitutional protections for substantive rights such as freedom of speech, due process, and equal protection, along with principles from constitutional amendments, such as protection from unreasonable search and seizure. Difficulties with the principled approach to ethics include the problem of conflicting principles, dealing with exceptions, and situations for which no principles are available. Advantages include external guidance for decision making and guidance about how one should act (69–72).



Finally, the consequences approach to ethics judges whether an action is ethical by the nature of the outcome. One way to evaluate the outcome is by using the *utilitarian* measure, which holds that actions that produce the greatest good for the greatest number are the most ethical. The idea of considering outcomes instead of principles has the advantage of tailoring ethical decision making to the situation at hand, rather than using an abstract concept that may or may not be especially helpful. However, choosing values to measure the desirability of outcomes can be difficult (how do we know what is good?), and we cannot know with certainty what will happen in the future (Svara 2015, 74–75).

Concepts from the virtue, principle, and consequences approaches can be used together, offering the benefits of each and helping to avoid the disadvantages. For our exploration of values, administrative ethics yields interesting ideas that we can include in a collection of public service values. Though many values that emerge from the study of ethics are the same as those found in research on public service values, the philosophical framework of the field of ethics goes beyond a listing, offering historical, explanatory, and normative perspectives on specific value concepts.

DEMOCRACY AS A SOURCE OF VALUES


The idea of democracy is central to American culture and government. Related values include democratic participation, giving citizens opportunities to contribute to the creation and implementation of public policies and programs, openness and transparency in governance, and representativeness, in which public professionals act in ways that reflect the values held by citizens. In today's large and complex urban society, it can be difficult for individual citizens to be meaningfully involved in the public sector. Not all government agencies and functions are well suited to do their work in a way we might think of as democratic, nor is it always easy, or even appropriate, to make them open and available to public involvement in creating and implementing public policies. Nevertheless, if the values of participativeness, openness, transparency, and representativeness are to be meaningful in the public sector, it is important to think about ways that citizens can contribute to governance.

In the classic view of public administration, elected leaders sense what citizens want done, they pass laws accordingly, and career public employees carry them out. This is the expected cycle of policy making and implementation in a *representative democracy*. In the eighteenth century, the national government in the United States was designed to allow citizens to vote on their leaders periodically, but they were not expected to participate more directly in governing. Most people of the time were poorly educated, leaders regarded them as incapable of making sound decisions on matters of public importance, and the national capital was a long, difficult journey away for much of the population.

State government was—and is—somewhat more accessible to citizens, but the same representative cycle of policy making and implementation is found here. At both the national and state levels today, this classic pattern has been modified by systems intended to gather the public's ideas about planned legislation and regulations, and by the technology that makes so much of government immediately visible and accessible. Nevertheless, the underlying model remains that of representative democracy.

Unlike the national and state governments, which are modeled on a *separation of powers* structure with three branches, legislative, executive, and judicial, local governments use a variety of structures. Though in many places local leaders largely exclude citizens from participating in governance beyond the act of voting or commenting on pending decisions, in other places residents join neighborhood organizations that work with city and county governments and special districts such as schools, volunteer to serve on governmental committees dealing with public issues, and organize their neighbors to influence public decision making. This is *direct democracy*, in which citizens can be said to “self-govern.”

The idea of citizen involvement in local governance is an old one. In the nineteenth century, opportunities increased for ordinary citizens to become involved in community politics. During the Progressive Era in



the early twentieth century, citizens gathered in neighborhood and community organizations to discuss the public issues of the day. In the 1960s, citizen participation became especially visible because the national government funded local activities related to planning and social services. In the next decades, citizen involvement programs grew in states, counties, and cities nationwide, changing the way local issues were addressed (Box 2011, 67–69).

These settings offer an alternative to the typical public hearings, which are formal, sometimes adversarial, and often held when the decision-making body has already decided what to do. In a participatory process, community leaders and public professionals engage with citizens, each listening to the ideas of others and learning about alternative ways to deal with current issues. Though there is the potential for imbalance and abuse when people with a particular agenda try to dominate the discussion, well-designed and -conducted citizen involvement systems can improve the quality of public decision making (Thomas 2012).

Not every government function lends itself to citizen participation in decision making, nor is a participatory process the best approach in all places and times. It can be effective when communities are dealing with issues that interest the public, there are multiple perspectives that are difficult to fully anticipate, and public buy-in to solutions is important to community success. In these situations, democracy becomes a key public service value, not just in the abstract as a concept taught in political science courses, but as a real and immediate part of daily community life.


For the public professional, this is not a matter of “pleasing the customer,” in the language of the market paradigm of public administration. Instead, it is about serving as a facilitator for community dialogue, so that citizens are not only passive consumers of public service but also people who actively help decide what services will be offered and in what ways. This concept may not affect the legal structures of government under state constitutions and local laws, but it can change how elected leaders gather information about citizen preferences and formulate ideas for policies and projects.

Three useful concepts describing ways practitioners can facilitate community dialogue are the “listening bureaucrat,” the “helper,” and the “citizen in lieu of the rest of us.” All three of these views of the role of the public professional support the value of democracy with values such as participation and openness.

Camilla Stivers (1994) describes listening to citizens as a practice that moves the public professional beyond the basic task of implementing policy. It “helps administrators glean important information, define situations more carefully, hear neglected aspects and interests, and facilitate just and prudent action in often turbulent environments” (368). According to Stivers, this “supports both democratic accountability and administrative effectiveness” by promoting “openness, respect for difference, and reciprocity” (367).

In the helper role described by Richard Box (1998), public professionals “take an active part in policy creation and implementation by serving to interpret public wishes for representatives, presenting professional knowledge of organizational and technical practices to citizens and representatives, and monitoring decision making and implementation to ensure that citizens have opportunities to participate” (139). Though helpers do not neglect professional tasks related to carrying out existing laws, policies, and programs, when they work with the public their “focus is on the process of dialogue and deliberation that leads to policy decisions and program implementation” (140).

Terry Cooper does not accept the idea that public administrators are by the nature of their work separated from the public at large. Instead, drawing on the writing of political philosopher Michael Walzer, Cooper (1991, 139) suggests that public professionals can serve as “citizens in lieu of the rest of us.” Because they have available knowledge and access to governmental systems not readily available to the public, the “ethical identity of the public administrator then should be that of the citizen who is employed *as* one of us to work *for* us; a kind of professional citizen ordained to do that work which we in a complex large-scale political community are unable to undertake ourselves” (139). This concept recognizes the public



professional's responsibility to elected leaders, but regards this as one source of responsibility, not the only source. Elected leaders, citizens, and public administrators are all involved in creating and implementing public policy. Cooper describes these relationships as a "dynamic iterative process" in which administrators should receive legislative direction from elected officials who are responsible for aggregating the wishes of their fellow citizens in the form of broad policies; bureaucrats then return to the citizenry for guidance in implementation; and, on other occasions, return to the politicians with recommendations from the citizenry for revisions and for new policies. Information, judgment, and advice flow back and forth around the circle of political authority. (140)

These are interesting role possibilities that use and enhance public service values, but there are many situations in which direct citizen involvement is not an option. Also, not every- one working in the public sector has opportunities to connect with citizens and take part in the policy-making process. Many public employees serve in positions in which values and the views of citizens are important, but working with the public would be unusual. In circumstances such as these, an alternative that incorporates the values of democracy, responsiveness, representativeness, and openness is the idea of "imagining private lives."

Richard Box (2011, 70) notes that "This is not a new idea and many people already do it." Imagining private lives involves using what public professionals know about conditions in society to shape policy recommendations and delivery of public services. It "is not an act of vague emotionalism, it is a matter of assembling knowledge gained through working with projects, problems, and conditions in the everyday work setting" (71). Using this technique, practitioners might ask questions such as "Could we make residents feel safer from street violence by changing our patrol strategy?" or "Can we increase successful outcomes with social services clients by focusing on individual circumstances rather than rules and processes?" (71).

CODES OF ETHICS AS A SOURCE OF VALUES

There are a number of codes of ethics in the public sector that include public service values (see Meine and Dunn [2013] for a survey of codes of ethics). There is only one—for ASPA—that applies across the entire sector, while the others come from professional associations based on specific occupations. The ASPA code is discussed below, but first we will examine the *Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct* of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP), which is part of the American Planning Association, using it as an example of an occupationally specific code.

Codes of ethics often contain aspirational statements and prescriptive rules of conduct. Aspirational statements express the association's ideals. They may not be entirely achievable, but they show the direction in which members want to take the profession; their purpose is to inspire. Prescriptive rules of conduct specify appropriate and inappropriate behaviors specific to the occupation. These are "do" and "don't" statements that define the role of members of the profession; if there is an enforcement mechanism for the code, they serve as the grounds for action.


The AICP code begins with an aspirational subsection, within a larger section labeled "Principles to Which We Aspire," that describes overall responsibility to the public. This subsection consists of an opening paragraph and eight statements:

AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct

Principles to Which We Aspire

Our Overall Responsibility to the Public

Our primary obligation is to serve the public interest and we, therefore, owe our allegiance to a conscientiously attained concept of the public interest that is formulated through continuous and open



debate. We shall achieve high standards of professional integrity, proficiency, and knowledge. To comply with our obligation to the public, we aspire to the following principles:

We shall always be conscious of the rights of others.

We shall have special concern for the long-range consequences of present actions.

We shall pay special attention to the interrelatedness of decisions.

We shall provide timely, adequate, clear, and accurate information on planning issues to all affected persons and to governmental decision makers.

We shall give people the opportunity to have a meaningful impact on the development of plans and programs that may affect them. Participation should be broad enough to include those who lack formal organization or influence.

We shall seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration. We shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions, and decisions that oppose such needs.

We shall promote excellence of design and endeavor to conserve and preserve the integrity and heritage of the natural and built environment.


We shall deal fairly with all participants in the planning process. Those of us who are public officials or employees shall also deal evenhandedly with all planning process participants. (American Planning Association 2009)

This aspirational subsection is followed by two more, on “Our Responsibility to Our Clients and Employers” and “Our Responsibility to Our Profession and Colleagues.” Then the code offers twenty-six rules of conduct, followed by a section on enforcement procedures. Here are two examples of the rules of conduct. Item 13 states, “We shall not sell, or offer to sell, services by stating or implying an ability to influence decisions by improper means.” Item 18 reads, “We shall not direct or coerce other professionals to make analyses or reach findings not supported by available evidence” (American Planning Association 2009). These two statements express values of honesty and integrity in relationships with clients and in the use of knowledge gained in professional practice. We can see that these issues would be of particular interest to planning professionals, whose work involves interaction with decision-making bodies— thus the prohibition on claiming an ability to influence decisions by improper means—and interaction with other planners, involving the accurate and factual use of data. It is in the aspirational subsection that we find concentrated attention to public service values.

Some of these values, such as social justice and the rights of others, could be applicable to many professional specializations. Several others, such as concern for long-range consequences and excellence of design, are tailored to planning. Overall, the reader comes away with a relatively clear idea of who these people want to be and how they think about their professional practice.

The ASPA *Code of Ethics* has been updated several times, most recently in 2013 (ASPA 2013). In the most recent revision, the ASPA code was shortened and supplemented with a separate set of “practices” in support (Appendix B). It is worth reproducing the code here to highlight the public service values it contains:

ASPA Code of Ethics



The American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) advances the science, art, and practice of public administration. The Society affirms its responsibility to develop the spirit of responsible professionalism within its membership and to increase awareness and commitment to ethical principles and standards among all those who work in public service in all sectors. To this end, we, the members of the Society, commit ourselves to uphold the following principles:

Advance the Public Interest. Promote the interests of the public and put service to the public above service to oneself.

Uphold the Constitution and the Law. Respect and support government constitutions and laws, while seeking to improve laws and policies to promote the public good.

Promote Democratic Participation. Inform the public and encourage active engagement in governance. Be open, transparent and responsive, and respect and assist all persons in their dealings with public organizations.

Strengthen Social Equity. Treat all persons with fairness, justice, and equality and respect individual differences, rights, and freedoms. Promote affirmative action and other initiatives to reduce unfairness, injustice, and inequality in society.

Fully Inform and Advise. Provide accurate, honest, comprehensive, and timely information and advice to elected and appointed officials and governing board members, and to staff members in your organization.

Demonstrate Personal Integrity. Adhere to the highest standards of conduct to inspire public confidence and trust in public service.

Promote Ethical Organizations. Strive to attain the highest standards of ethics, stewardship, and public service in organizations that serve the public.

Advance Professional Excellence. Strengthen personal capabilities to act competently and ethically and encourage the professional development of others. (ASPA 2013)

Taking the ASPA *Code of Ethics* and its practices together, we can create the following list of values that ASPA thinks are important for public service (in the order they appear in the practices):

Public interest

Respect constitutions and laws

Equality Fairness

Representativeness Responsiveness

Due process

Democratic participation Openness

Transparency Respect all persons Social equity


Equal treatment

Provide full information Integrity

Courage Compassion Benevolence Optimism

Honesty Effectiveness Efficiency Excellence Competence Professionalism

At this point in our exploration of sources of public service values, none of the ASPA values are a surprise. We might think of something to add or different ways to word a particular value, but this list reflects many of the concepts we have encountered from other sources. ASPA's eight principles are indeed aspirational,



and they are worded to apply across the many occupational specializations in the public sector.

PUBLIC SERVICE VALUES IN ACCREDITATION STANDARDS

It may seem strange in a chapter on the sources of public service values to focus on standards adopted by an organization that accredits a portion of the graduate programs in public affairs. However, accreditation standards are an expression of what faculties in these programs think students should know. The ideas discussed in graduate public affairs programs are likely to have some impact on actions taken by public sector professionals, so they can be important for our discussion of values.

Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA) is the accrediting body for master's-level public affairs degree programs. Not all public affairs programs are, or choose to be, accredited by NASPAA, though many are. In 2009, NASPAA adopted a new set of standards that emphasizes public service values. There may have been implied values in NASPAA's earlier standards. However, making public service values a central feature of the accreditation system suggests that normative values are going to become even more important than they already have been in the creation of public policy and the everyday delivery of governmental services.

Here is the NASPAA statement of important public service values from the 2009 accreditation standards:

Public service values are important and enduring beliefs, ideals and principles shared by members of a community about what is good and desirable and what is not. They include pursuing the public interest with accountability and transparency; serving professionally with competence, efficiency, and objectivity; acting ethically so as to uphold the public trust; and demonstrating respect, equity, and fairness in dealings with citizens and fellow public servants.

To accompany Bozeman's definition of values given in the section "A Specific Sort of Values" in Chapter 1, we have NASPAA's definition that is specifically tailored to public service values. These public service values are "enduring beliefs, ideas, and principles," they are "shared by members of a community," and they express what community members think is "good and desirable" and "what is not." The values are shown in four groups:

Pursuing the public interest with accountability and transparency.

Serving professionally with competence, efficiency, and objectivity.

Acting ethically so as to uphold the public trust.

Demonstrating respect, equity, and fairness in dealings with citizens and fellow public servants.

The first group is organized around the familiar *public interest*, connecting it with accountability and transparency. The second group includes values related to professional action and the third is about ethically correct behavior. In the fourth group, NASPAA combines three quite different concepts in describing the public professional's relationships with citizens and peers. The second concept, equity, is part of social justice, and fairness can be thought of as connected with values such as objectivity and neutrality.

To give each group a name that makes it easy to identify, we might use the following labels, in order: *accountability*, *professionalism*, *administrative ethics*, and *fairness*. Though this four-way categorization of values is not the same as Kernaghan's (discussed above in the section on value typologies), there are definite similarities. NASPAA's accountability group can be compared to Kernaghan's democratic category, both sets include professional and ethical values, and Kernaghan's people category can be paired with NASPAA's fairness group.

USING VALUES IN THE FIVE THEMATIC CHAPTERS


This chapter's overview of public service values shows that they are used by public service practitioners, academicians, and the faculty and administrators who accredit MPA programs. The values most in use in practice and research change over time, as some move in and out of favor and new ones are introduced during periods of reform or changes in schools of thought. Dialogue between students and faculty may also influence public service values, as students express views on values important to them, teachers offer related history and concepts, and the perceptions and daily work of each are changed by the interaction.

In this chapter, we have found remarkable agreement and consistency in public service values across quite different source materials. In the following five chapters, many of the values discussed in this chapter become part of the narrative associated with neutrality, efficiency, accountability, public service, and public interest.

APPENDIX A: VALUE DEFINITIONS FROM MOLINA AND MCKEOWN

The following list of public service values is quoted from Molina and McKeown (2012, 380):

Accountability	To act willingly in justifying and explaining one's actions to relevant stakeholders
Benevolence	To act in a manner that promotes good and avoids harm for citizens
Collegiality	To act loyally and show solidarity toward one's colleagues
Courage	To confront fear and act rightly in the face of personal risk
Dedication	To act with diligence, enthusiasm, and perseverance
Effectiveness	To act in a manner that best achieves the desired results
Efficiency	To act in a manner that achieves the desired results using minimal resources
Expertise	To act with competence, skill, and knowledge
Honesty	To act in a truthful manner and to comply with promises
Humaneness	To act in a manner that exhibits respect, compassion, and dignity toward others
Impartiality	To act without prejudice or bias toward particular individuals or groups
Inclusiveness	To act in a manner that includes citizens, customers, and other relevant stakeholders in the decision-making process
Incorruptibility	To act without prejudice or bias in favor of one's own private interests
Innovativeness	To act with initiative and creativity in introducing new policies or products
Integrity	To act in accordance with relevant moral values and norms
Lawfulness	To act in accordance with existing laws and rules
Obedience	To act in compliance with the instructions of superiors
Organizational Interest	To act in a manner that promotes the organization's interest
Participativeness	To act in a manner that promotes active citizen participation in administrative decision making
Pluralism	To act in a manner that seeks to accommodate the interests of a diverse citizenry
Profitability	To act in a manner that achieves financial gains for the organization
Public Interest	To act in a manner that promotes the public interest



Reliability	To act in a manner that is consistent, predictable, and trustworthy
Representativeness	To act in a manner that is consistent with the values of citizens
Responsiveness	To act in a manner that is in accordance with the preferences of citizens, customers, and other relevant stakeholders
Self-Interest	To act in a manner that promotes the well-being and professional development of the individual
Serviceability	To act in a manner that is helpful and provides quality service to citizens, customers, and other relevant stakeholders
Social Justice	To act in a manner that promotes a fair and just society
Sustainability	To act in a manner that seeks to protect and sustain nature and the environment
Transparency	To act in a manner that is open and visible to citizens, customers, and other relevant stakeholders

ASPA CODE OF ETHICS

The following statement was approved by the ASPA National Council on March 16, 2013.

The ASPA Code of Ethics (ASPA 2013) is a statement of the aspirations and high expectations of public servants. These practices serve as a guide to behavior for members of ASPA in carrying out its principles. The Code and these practices are intended to be used as a whole and in conjunction with one another. An ethical public servant will consider the full range of standards and values that are relevant to handling a specific matter and be committed to upholding both the spirit and the letter of this Code.

ASPA members are committed to:

Advance the Public Interest. Promote the interests of the public and put service to the public above service to one-self.

Seek to advance the good of the public as a whole, taking into account current and long-term interests of the society.

Exercise discretionary authority to promote the public interest.

Be prepared to make decisions that may not be popular but that are in the public's best interest.

Subordinate personal interests and institutional loyalties to the public good.

Serve all persons with courtesy, respect, and dedication to high standards.


Uphold the Constitution and the Law. Respect and support government constitutions and laws, while seeking to improve laws and policies to promote the public good.

Recognize and understand the constitutional, legislative and regulatory framework in which you work and fully discharge your professional roles and responsibilities.

Promote constitutional principles of equality, fairness, representativeness, responsiveness and due process in protecting citizens' rights and promoting the public good.

Develop proposals for sound laws and policies and for improving or eliminating laws and policies that are unethical, counterproductive, or obsolete.

Respect and safeguard protected and confidential information.



Promote Democratic Participation. Inform the public and encourage active engagement in governance. Be open, transparent and responsive, and respect and assist all persons in their dealings with public organizations.

Be open and transparent while protecting privacy rights and security.

Recognize and support the public's right to know the public's business.

Involve the community in the development, implementation, and assessment of policies and public programs, and seek to empower citizens in the democratic process, including special assistance to those who lack resources or influence.

Assist members of the public in their dealings with government and respond to the public in ways that are complete, clear, and easy to understand.

Promote timely and continuing dissemination of information about government activities to the community, ensuring a fair and transparent process and educating citizens to make effective contributions.

Strengthen Social Equity. Treat all persons with fairness, justice, and equality and respect individual differences, rights, and freedoms. Promote affirmative action and other initiatives to reduce unfairness, injustice, and inequality in society.

Provide services to the public with impartiality and consistency tempered by recognition of differences. Ensure that all persons have access to programs and services to which they are entitled under the law and maintain equitable standards of quality for all who receive the programs and services.

Provide equal treatment, protection, and due process to all persons.

Oppose all forms of discrimination and harassment and promote affirmative action, cultural competence, and other efforts to reduce disparities in outcomes and increase the inclusion of underrepresented groups.

Fully Inform and Advise. Provide accurate, honest, comprehensive, and timely information and advice to elected and appointed officials and governing board members, and to staff members in your organization.

Provide information and advice based on a complete and impartial review of circumstances and needs of the public and the goals and objectives of the organization.

Be prepared to provide information and recommendations that may not be popular or preferred by superiors or colleagues.

Demonstrate Personal Integrity. Adhere to the highest standards of conduct to inspire public confidence and trust in public service.

Exercise integrity, courage, compassion, benevolence, and optimism.

Maintain truthfulness and honesty and do not compromise them for advancement, honor, or personal gain.


Resist political, organizational, and personal pressures to compromise ethical integrity and principles and support others who are subject to these pressures.

Accept individual responsibility for your actions and the consequences of your actions.

Guard against using public position for personal gain or to advance personal or private interests.

Zealously guard against conflict of interest or its appearance. Disclose any interests that may affect objectivity in making decisions and recuse oneself from participation in those decisions.

Conduct official acts without partisanship or favoritism.



Ensure that others receive credit for their work and contributions.

Promote Ethical Organizations: Strive to attain the highest standards of ethics, stewardship, and public service in organizations that serve the public.

Work to establish procedures that hold individuals and the organization accountable for their conduct and support these procedures with clear reporting of activities and accomplishments.

Act as stewards of public funds by the strategic, effective, and efficient use of resources; by regularly reexamining the efficacy of policies, programs, and services; and by seeking to prevent all forms of mismanagement or waste.

Encourage open expression of views by staff members within the organization and provide administrative channels for dissent. Protect the whistleblowing rights of public employees, provide assurance of due process and safeguards against reprisal, and give support to colleagues who are victims of retribution.

Seek to correct instances of wrongdoing or report them to superiors. If remedies cannot be assured by reporting wrongdoing internally, seek external sources or agencies for review and action.

Support merit principles that promote excellence, competence, and professionalism in the selection and promotion of public officials and employees and protect against biased, arbitrary, and capricious actions.

Promote proactive efforts to increase the representativeness of the public workforce and the full inclusion of persons with diverse characteristics.

Encourage organizations to adopt, distribute, and periodically review a code of ethics as a living document that applies principles of this code and other relevant codes to the specific mission and conditions of the organization.

Advance Professional Excellence: Strengthen personal capabilities to act competently and ethically and encourage the professional development of others.

Keep up-to-date on emerging issues, practices, and potential problems that could affect your performance and accomplishing the mission of your organization.

Provide support and encouragement to others to upgrade competence and participate in professional activities and associations.

Allocate time and resources to the professional development of students, interns, beginning professionals, and other colleagues.